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Title: Minorities and nationalities - Jews in Soviet Union

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DEPT. OF STATE
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FILE No. 201.4.2

PART No. III

MOSCOW

THE MINORITIES & NATIONALITIES

SEWS IN SOVIET UNION

RELATED FILES										PREVIOUS PAPERS	
FILE NO.	TITLE									SUBSEQUENT PAPERS	
										ARCHIVAL ACTION	
Folio N	to	Date	Cleared- Initials and date	Folio No.	Referred to	Date	Cleared- Initials and date	Folio No.	Referred to	Date	Cleared- Initials and date
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FILE No. 201.4.2

PART No. THREE

PART No. 111

MOSCOW

THE MINORITIES & NATIONALITIES

SEWS IN SOVIET UNION

RELATED FILES

PREVIOUS PAPERS

FILE NO.

TITLE

SUBSEQUENT PAPERS

ARCHIVAL ACTION

Folio No.	to	Date	Cleared- Initials and date	Folio No.	Referred to	Date	Cleared- Initials and date	Folio No.	Referred to	Date	Cleared- Initials and date
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FILE No. 201.4.2
PART No. THREE

STATEMENT OF REASONS UNDER SECTION 40(5) OF THE ARCHIVES ACT 1983

Series A 10136

Control Symbol 201/4/2 part 3

Decision

I have examined the record and I have decided to partially exempt the record.

Part of the record is exempt from disclosure under section 33(1)(b) of the *Archives Act 1983* because it contains information or matter communicated or shared in confidence by a foreign government or an international organisation to the Australian Government.

Material taken into account by the decision maker

In reaching my decision, I have taken account of the following materials:

- the content of the record requested
- the policy and guidelines of the National Archives of Australia
- the relevant provisions of the *Archives Act 1983*
- consultation with and submissions made by the controlling agency DFAT

Findings of fact and reasons for decision

Section 31 (1)(b) - Foreign information communicated in confidence.

Section 33(1)(b) of the *Archives Act* provides that a record is exempt if it contains 'information or matter communicated in confidence by or on behalf of a foreign government, an authority of a foreign government or an international organization to the Government of the Commonwealth, to an authority of the Commonwealth or to a person receiving the communication on behalf of the Commonwealth or of an authority of the Commonwealth, being information or matter the disclosure of which under this Act would constitute a breach of that confidence'.

I find that disclosure of information exempted in this record could reasonably be expected to cause damage to the international relations of the Commonwealth. The information was supplied by a foreign government which advised that it was sensitive and asked that we protect it.

International relations are dependent upon an appropriate flow of information in confidence between one country and another. If disclosure of the information exempted were to lessen the confidence of another country in the Australian Government that is sufficient ground for a finding that disclosure could reasonably be expected to damage international relations.

Taking these matters into account, I find that part of this record is exempt under section 33(1)(b) of the *Archives Act*.

Decision Maker	F Milne
Designation	APS 6
Date	16/9/09

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Series number: A 10136 Control symbol: 201/4/2 Pt. 3 Barcode: 12478025

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NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

Feb-2005

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3 Feb 2005

STATEMENT OF REASONS UNDER SECTION 40(5) OF THE ARCHIVES ACT 1983

Series A 10136

Control Symbol 201/4/2 part 3

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Decision Maker	F Milne
Designation	APS 6
Date	16/9/09

Thursday, January 13, 1977

VPO/v913

350 171

3

FABRICATIONS OF THE ISRAELI SLANDERERS

The Israeli representative to the UN issued a document containing slanderous attacks against the Soviet Union and repeating malicious fabrications and insinuations spread by Zionist circles on the position of persons of Jewish nationality and Jewish culture in the USSR.

In a letter addressed to the UN Secretary-General, the Soviet permanent representative to the UN Oleg Troyanovsky categorically refuted the slanderous fabrications by the Israeli delegate as well as the attempts of the Israeli government to promote all sorts of tendentious fabrications. The feigned concern shown by the Zionist circles for Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality, says the letter in particular, is used only as a pretext for interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet state. The fraud of the Israeli representative is a self exposure of the claims by the Israeli ruling circles to the spiritual leadership of the so-called "world Jewry".

In common with representatives of all other nations and nationalities of the USSR, persons of Jewish nationality, the letter by the Soviet representative goes on to stress, enjoy all the rights placed on record in the Constitution of the USSR and guaranteed by the whole social and political system of socialist society. They take an active part, in particular, in the country's cultural life. Widely recognized is the creativity of writers, poets, composers, conductors, actors and other talented workers of Soviet art of Jewish nationality.

Being a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination as well as the International pacts on human rights, the Soviet Union strictly adheres to its commitments. The adherence of the Soviet Union to the cause of struggle against racialism and racial discrimination was highly assessed in particular by the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

As far as the real attitude of the Israeli Zionists to persons of Jewish nationality misled by Zionist propaganda, is concerned, it is graphically seen from the recent letter by 300 former Soviet citizens, who left for Israel, but were then forced to flee from there. The authors of the letter convincingly exposed the policy of dividing people into castes by racial and religious principles, which is practiced by the Israeli authorities. They bitterly regret having become mere pawns in the political machinations of the Zionists.

(TASS, January 12. In full.)

Thursday, January 13, 1977

SD1/v914

178
349

4

LIVING IN A HOSPITABLE LAND

On the Jewish Autonomous Region

"Successes in the economic and cultural development of the Jewish Autonomous Region became possible because the entire Soviet people has been contributing to this process. Towns, settlements and villages, the buildings of plants and factories, schools, clubs and hospitals have grown up in the severe taiga," Lev Shapiro, First Secretary of the Regional CPSU Committee of the Jewish Autonomous Region, stated in an interview for the paper Izvestia.

Functioning there are 140 schools, six specialised secondary schools and seven technical vocational schools.

Two newspapers are published--the Birobidzhanskaya Zvezda in Russian, and Birobidzhaner Shtern in Yiddish. The local radio broadcasts daily in Russian and Yiddish. The Russian and Jewish people's theatres of Birobidzhan are widely known in the Far East. The regional library named, after Sholom Aleichem, and other libraries have been building up their stocks steadily.

The regional centre, the city of Birobidzhan, derives its name from two tributaries of the Amur River--the Bira and the Bidzhan, between which the Jewish Autonomous Region is situated. Birobidzhan can be said to experience today its third birth: from wooden huts to 3-5 storey stone buildings, and today one can already see the appearance of future architectural ensembles.

The Jewish Autonomous Region was formed in 1934. Today its population is 191,000. The Jewish Autonomous Region, though occupying only four percent of the Khabarovsk Territory, is called its bread-basket. The region accounts for about seventy per cent of the gross grain and soya harvests of the territory, for more than half of its potatoes and more than forty percent of vegetables.

Also developing is the region's industry. For example, the Dalselmash plant is the only one in the Soviet Union specialising in the manufacture of combine harvesters on caterpillar tracks. These machines are distinguished by high roadability and are essential when operating on strongly moist soils. They are bought by 14 foreign countries.

(Izvestia - TASS Summary, January 12.)



DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

RESTRICTED

169
348

CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

File No: 69/2/5/7

20 December 1976

Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW.

Memo. No: 680

Australian High Commission,
LONDON.

Memo. No:

Australian Embassy,
WASHINGTON.

Memo. No:

EMIGRATION OF JEWS FROM USSR

....

Attached is the record of conversation between
the Minister and Rabbi Sultanik.

2. We were able to draw on replies to our cable
O.CH443091 from Moscow (MS.4838) and London (LH.66323)
in updating the brief for the Minister and appreciate
your assistance.

3. Given that we expect the question of the
treatment of Soviet Jews to be raised again we would be
grateful if you could continue to keep us informed of
developments.

(Ken Chan)
East Europe Section



Dr G. Lee

F. 201.4.2.

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File No

347

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Record of Conversation between The Hon. A.S. Peacock, Minister for Foreign Affairs,
and Rabbi Sultanik, Representative from the North East
Jewish War Memorial Centre, Doncaster, Victoria
on 10 December 1976

Officers Present Mr David Yaffi, Representative from Jewish Community

Mr D.J. Woodhouse, Department of Foreign Affairs,
Melbourne

MAIN SUBJECT(S):

EMIGRATION OF JEWS FROM USSR

The Minister opened the discussion by asking Rabbi Sultanik if he gauged the demonstration held outside the USSR Embassy in Canberra on 2 November 1976 to have been a success. Rabbi Sultanik replied that in his opinion it was a great success, particularly in terms of publicity, public reaction and Governmental response. The Minister asked Rabbi Sultanik how many Soviet Jews had arrived in Australia from the three categories of:

- (1) direct emigration from the USSR;
- (2) Soviet Jewish refugees from Europe;
- (3) sponsored Soviet Jews.

Rabbi Sultanik replied that he thought about one hundred families had arrived in Australia, although he was sure large numbers of outstanding applications with decisions pending at the USSR end were in the pipeline. He said his organisation intended to publicise the case of Temkin who is presently being held as a political prisoner in the USSR. Rabbi Sultanik then presented the Minister with several letters associated with the Temkin case. The Minister read and returned the correspondence.

2. The Minister and Rabbi Sultanik then discussed Soviet Jewish emigration to Israel. The Minister commented that there had been a marked decline from the earlier figures, particularly the 1973/74 period and he noted that more Soviet Jews were opting for the United States of America rather than Israel. Rabbi Sultanik replied that it was true the numbers were decreasing (he stated current statistics at 5/6,000 for 1976) and that many Soviet Jews, although initially choosing the USA, were now turning back to Israel because of resettlement problems in the USA.

DISTRIBUTION:

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Secretary
Personal Assistant
Deputy Secretary (A)
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L. & T.
U.N.L.
C.P.I.
P.E.R.
S.V.C.

.../2

FOLLOWING POSTS:

ACTION:

Report prepared by

D.J. Woodhouse

RESTRICTED

346
RESTRICTED

- 2 -

3. The Minister and Rabbi Sultanik talked briefly about the current Austrian Government's discussions on the exit visa and resettlement questions. Rabbi Sultanik said that although this was a problem, his organisation considered this aspect to be secondary with the prime objective being the exit of Soviet Jews who wished to leave the USSR. The Minister said he expected that that would be their approach.

4. The Minister asked Rabbi Sultanik why he believed the numbers of Jewish departures from the USSR were down on previous years. Rabbi Sultanik said he considered the following reasons were the main cause:

- (1) Detente has lapsed;
- (2) World pressure on the USSR has decreased;
- (3) Political attitudes of the USA to the Soviet Jewish problem have not been as forceful as in previous times.

At this point of the discussion, the Minister and Rabbi Sultanik talked on various aspects of the current political climate in the USA as it affects Jewish immigration.

5. The Minister asked Rabbi Sultanik what he would like him (the Minister) to do at this stage. Rabbi Sultanik said that he and his organisation were looking to the Minister for advice and guidance on matters relating to the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence and in particular what type of representative and what form of representation should be presented. The Minister replied that he was unable to offer advice on such matters and said that any questions would have to be referred directly to the Committee or through Senator Cormack. Rabbi Sultanik said he understood the Minister's position. He felt in view of his wish to use the Temkin case as a publicity base, including asking the Foreign Minister to make representations, he should consult the Minister. The Minister said that he would be willing to make representations in the normal manner, but he was not prepared to raise the case with the Joint Committee.

6. Rabbi Sultanik thanked the Minister for his assistance and reply following the representations to the USSR authorities on the question of Jewish emigration. Both the Minister and Rabbi Sultanik commented that the reply from the USSR authorities was along expected lines.

7. Mr David Yaffi asked the Minister if the Joint Committee would permit the Jewish organisation to present overseas representatives. The Minister again reiterated his position on matters relating to the Committee and referred Mr Yaffi to Senator Cormack.

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345
RESTRICTED

8. The discussion was concluded with Rabbi Sultanik thanking the Minister for his time and attention.

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168
344
201.4.2
10

4 January 1977

The Secretary
Department of Foreign Affairs
CANBERRA

SOVIET JEWS : EMIGRATION RATE

The "International Herald Tribune" of 20 December 1976 quotes a spokesman for the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration in Vienna as saying that "so far this year" the Soviet Union has allowed some 13,750 Jews to emigrate from the Soviet Union. This number is apparently some 500 larger than the total figure for 1975. The article suggests that the total number of Soviet Jews to leave the Soviet Union in 1976 is therefore likely to exceed 14000. It was pointed out, however, that the 1976 total would still be lower than the 1974 tally of 16,913 and less than half the 1973 and 1972 totals of 30,604 and 31,176 respectively.

JG.
(R.J.D. Gee)
First Secretary

-44-

movement who were taken by the chilean gestapo, l'unita says.
/ more /

= 23/12 tass 4-24 =
solidarity 3 (three)

the release of luis corvalan has been a result of struggle not rpt not only by the chilean people but also by the entire international movement of solidarity with the people of that much-suffering country. this is said in a statement made by the greek committee of solidarity with the chilean people. together with all fighters against pinochet's junta, the greek people share their joy over a great victory, the release of an outstanding political leader of chile.

bonn. in a statement sent to the tass office josef weber, member of the directorate of the german peace union, writes that the military junta in chile had to set free luis corvalan under the pressure of a powerful international movement of solidarity with the chilean patriots and for fear of a complete international isolation.

this great victory, josef weber says, should become a new stimulus for stepping up the struggle for the release of all political prisoners in chile. item ends +++++

= 23/12 tass 5-50 =
izvestia on zionism
zionism 1 (one) four takes

moscow december 23 tass zionists' malicious inventions regarding the state of jews in the soviet union have nothing in common with the real facts, writes today's moscow newspaper izvestia.

like representatives of all other nations and nationalities living in the ussr, the jews enjoy all the rights of soviet citizens written down in the country's constitution.

jews in the soviet union are the same workers as everyone else and together with all they are involved in building up a communist society. for heroism and courage in defending their homeland, for excellent work and successes in the political, economic, scientific and cultural activities 339,000 soviet citizens of the jewish nationality were awarded orders and medals. among the deputies of the electoral organs of soviet power, starting from the ussr supreme soviet and ending by local soviets, there are eight thousand deputies of the jewish nationality. / more /

= 23/12 tass 5-50 =
zionism 2 (two)

zionists are enraged by the active participation of the soviet citizens of the jewish nationality in the country's cultural life, said the article. they assert that the only indicator of the spiritual +progress+ of their +adherents+ is the development of such jewish culture that would be opposed to the culture of other peoples of the country, the soviet socialist culture.

according to the newspaper, the soviet union is publishing in mass editions the books by jewish writers both in yiddish

-45-

and translations into other languages of the peoples of our country, from 1955 to 1970 alone the country published 466 books by jewish writers in the fifteen languages of the peoples of the ussr with an overall circulation of over 46 million copies, during the same period 50 books were published in yiddish.

a monthly literary magazine +sovetisch geimland+ is being published in moscow, it acquaints the readers with new books by more than one hundred jewish writers who live in different soviet towns, in birobidzhan, centre of the jewish autonomous region, which has become the first state formation of the jews over the past two thousand years, the newspaper +birobidzhaner stern+ is being published in yiddish five times a week, subscription to it is open in any part of the ussr. / more /

= 23/12 tass 5-50 =
zionism 3 (three)

in the soviet union there are jewish theatrical and musical companies which are constantly touring the country, besides, in places where jewish population lives as a compact body there are artistic amateur ensembles set up by the local organs of culture and trade unions. in short, in the field of culture soviet jews have absolutely the same rights as representatives of other nationalities residing in the ussr.

today, changing the tactics of the subversive ideological struggle aimed against the nationality policy in the soviet union and other socialist countries, the militant anticommunists are advocating a departure of the jews from our united multinational society, the newspaper writes, the matter concerns, let us say, the creation of a ramified network of circles to study hebrew in order, putting it in a refined manner, to +bring closer spiritually+ the young people to the +god chosen country+ and its state religion, that is to israel. / more /

= 23/12 tass 5-50 =
zionism 4 (four)

in the ussr no rpt no one is forbidden to study any foreign language, be it hebrew or yiddish, no rpt no one obstructs jewish believers. the freedom of religious belief and traditional religious customs and rites is guaranteed by the country's constitution. the soviet union has several scores of synagogues and over 300 praying houses, by the way, on the territory of the russian federation and the ukraine, the number of the religious jews comprises only 3-6 per cent from their overall number, but the soviet public cannot reconcile itself with the

341

-46-
fact, the article notes, that hebrew circles could be used by jewish nationalists to propagate zionist ideology, for cultivating the spirit of their national superiority and open racism. zionists would like to have the right to create inside the soviet union some sort of their subsidiaries, their plans envisage establishment of direct and permanent contacts of the jewish religious communities in the ussr with the zionist centres abroad.

+could there be anyone who may count that our country, as any other sovereign state, would allow interference in its domestic affairs?, izvestia writes. this has never been the case and it will never happen. anti-semitism is banned in the soviet union by law but this does not rpt not mean that zionists will be allowed to propagate racism in the soviet union unpunished+. item ends +++++

166
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F. 201.4.2

340

Soviet Security Men Harass Jewish Group at Symposium

MOSCOW, Dec. 21 (AP).—With security men pounding on the door and most of the organizers apparently in jail, a group of Jews proceeded today with a symposium on Soviet Jewry.

About 50 men and women crowded into a tiny apartment on the outskirts of Moscow and tried to listen to papers on "Hebrew Education in the U.S.S.R." and "Legal Aspects of the Jewish Revival in the Soviet Union."

But outside the door, men identifying themselves as housing inspectors rattled the lock and rang the doorbell insistently for almost an hour. But they were seen to be a uniformed policeman along with several men in plain clothes.

The symposium, which takes as its premise the oppression of Jews in the Soviet Union, was to be "devoted to the present status and possible ways for the development of Jewish culture in the U.S.S.R."

But before it had started today, the Jews said, at least 15 and perhaps as many as 45 participants had been detained by authorities.

Organizers of the symposium had been warned twice by the authorities that their activities

were illegal. In the Soviet Union, academic-style gatherings are normally organized by official groups.

The conference had the backing of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, which is based in New York, and had aroused publicity in a number of countries, where participants from abroad had been denied visas to enter the Soviet Union.

Warning in Tass

In a story today on "Zionist Aggression," Tass news agency made reference to the symposium, telling outsiders to "mind your own business."

"Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality do not need 'protectors' of this kind," Tass said. "The Constitution of the U.S.S.R.—the basic law of our international homeland—guarantees for them full equality in all fields of life, including education and culture."

One symposium member said, "We are holding the symposium because Jews living in such a big nation as the Soviet Union are deprived of their original culture and are persecuted for their attempts to revive their own culture."

Jewish fear of wider repressions in Russia

Moscow, Dec 22.—Most of the organizers of an unofficial Jewish symposium in Moscow were kept under house arrest today, effectively stifling the planned three-day event, dissident sources reported.

KGB security police had prevented the 13 organizers and all but one of the 40 activists who had planned to read papers yesterday from gathering to begin the symposium on Jewish culture.

Today, men in plainclothes stood guard outside the blocks of flats of the activists and prevented "unauthorized" people from entering. At least three of the organizers were being interrogated.

The police searched the flat of Mr Vladimir Slepak, a prominent Jewish activist, for 18 hours yesterday and today, the sources went on. Mr Slepak was not one of the organizers of the symposium.

Mr Anatoly Sharansky, another Jewish activist, said: "I think they (the police) might be using the symposium as a pretext for a wider suppression."

About 50 Jews attended a reduced session of the symposium in a flat yesterday. Security men pounded on the door and rang the doorbell incessantly. Eventually the men went away and the symposium ended quietly.

Some of those taking part in it carried a letter to the Communist Party Central Committee protesting against the "unlawful detention" of the organizers, "as a result of which the symposium has failed".

As the organizers were kept under house arrest today, no attempt was made to resume the symposium, Jewish sources said.

Jewish Activists Freed in Moscow

MOSCOW, Dec. 26 (UPI).—Soviet authorities released during the weekend all 18 Jewish activists held under house arrest and at least 30 more detained for questioning in the wake of a banned symposium on Jewish culture in the Soviet Union, dissident sources said yesterday.

The sources said the exact number of those detained for questioning was not known because the telephones of many Jews had been cut off.

Lev Ulanovsky, a scientist seeking permission to emigrate to Israel, said that he and a number of others among the 30 or more picked up for questioning Friday were accused of parasitism. Soviet law provides that all able-bodied men must be employed and failure to work for four months can lead to trial on the parasitism charge.

TRIB. 22/12/76.

INT. H. TRIB 27/12/76

TIMES 23/12/76

165
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F. 101. 42.

339

INT HERALD TRIB 21/12/76.

Russia to Allow Top Conductor To Go to Israel

MOSCOW, Dec. 20 (UPI).—Rudolf Barshai, founder of the Moscow Chamber Orchestra and one of the Soviet Union's foremost conductors, has been granted permission to emigrate to Israel, he said today.

Authorities summoned the 52-year-old musician last Wednesday to inform him that his application to leave had been approved. But he said they gave no date for issuing the exit visa.

Mr. Barshai applied in August to emigrate. At the time he had not been allowed to travel abroad with the chamber orchestra for more than a year, apparently because he had requested Soviet cultural officials for a 12-month "creative leave" or sabbatical in the West.

As founder and conductor of the orchestra, he had traveled previously throughout the world with the group.

Mr. Barshai said he has not worked with the orchestra since it returned last month from a concert tour in Austria and West Germany. His last concert was Oct. 3, just before the orchestra left without him on the tour.

- 45 -

since that time, the names of more than 160 additional political prisoners in rhodesia have come to light, and a new detention camp has been opened by the regime to accommodate the growing number of those detained without charge or trial.

the pamphlet contains the first comprehensive record of political prisoners and detainees in rhodesia ever to have been made available. it lists the names and biographical details of over 1,800 zimbabweans known to be detained at the present time, and presents evidence from published and unpublished sources that the real figure may be in excess of 3,000. the biographical list is accompanied by details of political trials, torture and assault, prison conditions and the recent escalation of political repression.

a statement by the international defence and aid fund says: +those imprisoned by the smith regime for their opposition to white supremacy have a vital role to play in independent zimbabwe. their release and rehabilitation are an essential prerequisite for majority rule+. itemends ++++

= 17/12 tass 6-44 =

zionist farce in u.s. congress

farce 1 (one) four takes

moscow december 17 tass tass commentator boris ruikovich writes:

on november 16 zionist quarters in the usa staged another anti-soviet spectacle: at a +press conference+ arranged at the capitol several university teachers made statements about a so-called +symposium on jewish culture+ in moscow.

everything indicates, however, that what they were least of all interested in were matters of culture. it was policy, and extremely unseemly policy at that, that lay at the bottom of these professors' speeches, as they repeated worn out anti-soviet fabrications alleging that the rights of the +jewish national minority+ are being violated in the ussr. moreover, they asserted that the denial to them of entry visas for a trip to moscow means a failure by the soviet union to observe the letter and spirit of the helsinki accords.
/more/

= 17/12 tass 6-44 =

farce 2 (two)

the high-flown and pathetic tenor assumed by the speakers in the farce played out within the walls of the american congress was unable, however, to cover up their falsity and lies aimed at distorting the facts. the fact of the matter is that, just as all the other citizens of the soviet union, soviet jews enjoy equal rights and every opportunity for self-expression in the cultural sphere, in accordance with the fundamental law of this country-- the ussr constitution, many achievements of the multinational soviet art and literature are associated with the names of famed artists, musicians, actors, writers who happen to be jews and whose work has been marked by the highest awards of their soviet motherland.

- 46 -

americans, too, had ample and frequent opportunities to acquaint themselves with their creative work, which, by the way, no rpt no one else but the zionists have repeatedly attempted to prevent, by sabotaging performances of outstanding jewish cultural figures from the soviet union on guest tours in the usa,
/ more /

= 17/12 tass 6-44 =
farce 3 (three)

speaking now of the so-called +symposium on jewish culture+, this, as tass had already had occasion to explain, is a provocative measure, planned by international zionism, having nothing to do whatever with the development of jewish national culture in the ussr, it is in stark contradiction with the soviet legislation and relevant regulations, since the initiators of this measure approach jewish culture in the ussr from nationalistic rather than national positions, from the positions of some self-assumed +right of jews to be exceptional+, that is, from positions of national strive and enmity.
/more/

= 17/12 tass 6-44 =
farce 4 (four)

lastly, speaking of the helsinki accords. it is precisely following their letter and spirit, that the soviet union is widely developing and encouraging in every way contacts in the sphere of science and culture, including contacts between scholars and teachers.

this concerns also in full american scientists guided by the interests of science and striving to develop ussr-usa cooperation.

let us state bluntly, though: not rpt not to such university teachers as those who, having donned the togas of politicians, arrange an anti-soviet farce, selecting as their stage, however strange that may seem, the rostrum of the capitol. item ends +++++

e e e

= 17/12 tass 4-24 =

revealing document

london december 17 tass tass corr bryan bunting reports:- the savage repression of the smith regime in zimbabwe is exhaustively documented in a 40-page pamphlet +ian smith's hostages - political prisoners in rhodesia+ just published by the international defence and aid fund here. a preliminary version of the pamphlet was published in the form of a special fact paper for distribution at the geneva conference on rhodesia.

since that time, the names of more than 160 additional political prisoners in rhodesia have come to light, and a new detention camp has been opened by the regime to accommodate the

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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From: LONDON
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OUR O.LH66323... PARAGRAPH 5. SHOULD READ AS FOLLOWS:-
QUOTE:

5. IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO MAKE ANY QUANTITATIVE ASSESSMENT BUT THERE PROBABLY HAD BEEN A PARALLEL DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS TO EMIGRATE. THERE WAS NOW LESS INCENTIVE FOR JEWS TO LEAVE RUSSIA AND NEWS OF THE DIFFICULTIES FACED BY THOSE WHO HAD GONE TO ISRAEL HAD FILTERED BACK. MOST OF THOSE WHO WERE KEENEST TO LEAVE WOULD HAVE GOT OUT THREE OR FOUR YEARS AGO. SOVIET INTIMIDATION AND HARASSMENT OF POTENTIAL EMIGRANTS WAS, NO DOUBT, ALSO A FACTOR. THERE WAS NO SIGN THAT THIS HAD BEEN RELAXED AND SPECIFIC CASES WERE CONTINUALLY COMING TO LIGHT.

UNQUOTE.

ERROR REGRETED.

XC. 66 O.LH66323 5

YY.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 47 -

= 14/12 tass 5-2 =

sholem aleichem Library

Library 1(one) three takes

birobidzhan december 14 tass every fourth

citizen of birobidzhan, the administrative centre of the jewish autonomous republic takes books from the library named after classic of jewish literature sholem aleichem, this is the most popular of three dozens of public libraries in birobidzhan.

the library's director berl berger said that the library was founded in 1934, the year the jewish autonomous region was formed, this is birobidzhan's first and oldest library.

more than 160 thousand volumes, a considerable part of books in yiddish, are kept in the library's storage. it contains a great number of works by classics of jewish literature, works by mendeleyev, mochaie seforim, yitzik pfeffer, david bergelson, but books by sholem aleichem are most popular with both with elderly people and youth, / more /

= 14/12 tass 5-2 =

Library 2 (two)

readers show a constant interest in works of jewish soviet writers -- lev kvitko, avrom gontar, aron vergelis, birobidzhan prose writer and poet, member of the ussr writers' union berl miller often visits the library. he takes part in all discussions about the ways of the development of jewish literature, a recent conference of readers in the library was devoted to miller's new book +clarity+ that was brought out by the +sovetski pisatel+ (+soviet writer+) publishers. it is easy to see why the book is so popular, it is about people of birobidzhan, about social transformation that took place in the jewish autonomous region.

works of classics of russian and world literature translated into yiddish are taken from the library by workers and engineers of the local combine building plant and transformer plant, of footwear, knit goods and sewing factories and by intelligentsia, books by leo tolstoy, maxim gorky, laureate of the nobel prize sholokhov and taras shvchenko are much in demand, / more /

= 14/12 tass 5-2 =

Library 3 (three)

jewish writers from other cities of the soviet union -- moscow, kiev, odessa, have contacts with the sholem aleichem library, writers living in poland, the united states and other countries send their books to birobidzhan.

we take great pride in our library, its director berl berger said, therefore, we try to provide the best services for readers. after consulting them, we organized branches of the library at factories and plants, in educational establishments and institutions, reviews of new works are regularly made and there are literary soires and book exhibitions.

the library's funds are growing rapidly. in view of this, birobidzhan's city soviet decided to build a new building for the library with a storage for 100 thousand volumes. item ends ++++++

-31-

= 15/12 tass 5-32 =
statement by moscow rabbi
interview 1(one) two takes
moscow december 15 tass the congregation of the moscow
synagogue are preparing to celebrate hanukah on
december 17. in this connection the moscow rabbi yakov
fishman told a tass correspondent: +members of our congregation
will observe this holiday which has a tradition of already
seventeen centuries. our cantor, choir
and students of our yeshivot will take part in services in the
synagogue during the holiday+.

rabbi fishman said further that +we jews living in the
ussr rejoice together with all soviet people that our
peace-loving country is marching at the head of the forces that
are tirelessly struggling for peace, freedom and justice for
all peoples on earth+.

/more/

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= 15/12 tass 5-32 =
interview 2 (two)
the moscow rabbi said that together with representatives
of other churches and religious communities in the soviet
union he was now engaged in preparations for the world
conference of various religions, to be held in moscow next
summer.

+the motto of the forthcoming conference+, the rabbi said,
+is 'religious figures for lasting peace, disarmament and just
relations among all peoples'. i regularly tell the synago-
gue's congregation about the work of our international
preparatory committee. i am certain that my information evokes
a deep response in their hearts. for among them there are world
war two veterans and many who mourn to this day the relatives
who fell victim of nazi atrocities+.

item ends +++++

= 15/12 tass d-16 =
czech junior team wins
prague december 15 tass in the second game against their soviet
co-evals the czechoslovak junior team avenged their
defeat in the first game and won 3-2 (0-0, 0-1, 3-1). the game
was played on tuesday in the town of nimbuk.
item ends +++++

= 15/12 tass 53 =
london december 15 tass piotr jaroszewicz, poland's
chairman of the council of ministers, arrived here today on an
official three-day visit. he will conduct talks with the
british prime minister james callaghan and other officials
during which questions of bilateral relations will be
discussed.
item ends +++++

= 15/12 tass 2-49 =
friendship and cooperation
libya 1(one) two takes
tripoli december 15 tass the importance of friendship and
cooperation between the soviet union and libya
in a complex period for middle east countries can hardly
be overestimated, writes the newspaper +al fajr al jadid+. an open
offensive of the forces of imperialism, zionism and inter-
nal arab reaction on the gains of arab national liberation

Russia Indirectly Reveals Secret Work Centers

By Robert C. Toth

MOSCOW, Nov. 18.—The Jews jailed here recently for their sit-in protests, the Tass press agency said, had been refused emigration visas because of "their knowledge of state secrets."

Their knowledge, and that of hundreds of other Jews refused exit permission on the same ground, came from their former places of work, Tass said. The names of those places were supplied by the Jews when asked.

Soviet authorities have thus indirectly revealed a host of installations and operations where secret and presumably military-related work is done. These include:

- Three weather and four oceanographic research vessels of the kind that Western intelligence has long suspected of spy activities.
- Six institutes of the Academy of Sciences, the petroleum industry's Research Institute, an institute of biological synthesis, the Civil Aviation Institute and the Mapping Department of the Weather Bureau.
- Numerous innocuously titled research labs, many of which are called "postboxes" by Russians because they are identified by post office box numbers rather

List of Installations Made by Noting Refusals of Exit Visas for Security

than street addresses, such as the Experimental Construction Bureau of the Ministry of Chemical Industry.

The bureau is notable because, according to Mrs. Dina Belen, a chemical engineer who worked there and was refused an exit visa on secrecy grounds since 1971, it has an IBM 360 computer. The Russians have pirated such computers from Europe, but this one was apparently sold openly to the Chemistry Ministry in 1973.

The computer raises the broad issue, beyond the immigration question, of whether the West should not bar advanced technology sales to institutes where the Russians themselves say that "knowledge of state secrets" is available.

Another computer sale of this kind is about to be made. A news story from Washington recently said that the Ford administration will permit the Russians to buy a Control Data Cyber 73 for the Petroleum Ministry here. Indications are that it will go into the ministry's Research Institute

where Anatoli Shcharansky, 28, had worked until he applied to emigrate two years ago and was refused on the ground of state secrets.

The Moscow State Project Institute for Biological Synthesis has potentially more ominous secrets. Mrs. Ida Nudel, 45, refused exit since 1971, was also an economist working with herbicides and other agricultural chemicals, she said.

Her continued refusal on secrecy grounds—she was told last month not to bother again appealing her case for at least two years more—suggests that the institute did and still does classified research despite the Soviet-U.S. treaty banning biological weapons.

Electrical equipment aboard the weather ships Passad, Vikho, and Usson and on the oceanographic vessels Vize, Zubov, Shirshov and Korolev was the responsibility of Dmitri Shchiglik, 49, a senior engineer of the Hydrometeorological Service, who was refused an exit visa because of state secrets.

All of the individuals above in-

sist they never had classified information, although they cannot vouch that other laboratories or projects in their institutes were also engaged only in nonsecret work.

The temptation is to see the Soviet authorities indiscriminately using the secrets label to dissuade Jewish scientists, engineers and other specialists from emigrating. The danger of a significant "brain drain" is hard to assess, but cautious officials might be frightened by statistics alone that show Jews overrepresented in sciences. Jews hold 14 per cent of science PhDs, but account for only 1 per cent of the population.

Moreover, the Russians consider secret much that is open in the West, such as crime statistics and opinion surveys. A Soviet engineer refused a visa on secrecy grounds worked at the Institute of Meat and Milk Processing. His secrets might be as mundane as how little meat actually gets into sausages, as a dissident joked. Or he might know how much meat has been stockpiled for the military.

The Russians also give secrecy refusals in cases that appear ridiculous at first, but then intriguing. As to a nurse, who turns out to have worked at the Cen-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

(Continued from Page 1)
tral KGB (secret police) Poly-clinic, and to the deputy manager of the Seventh Heaven restaurant that revolves high up a Moscow TV tower.

Refused for reasons of state interest, the restaurant man, Alexander Lukotsky, 29, said he was told. (State interest and state secrets are used interchangeably.) "You know why," authorities were said to have added. He insists that he does not know why.

But other Jews tend to stand away from him. "We make no judgment in his case," said one, which is unusual because the dissidents normally close ranks. Even when a potential emigrant has done secret work, they try to gild the lily a bit.

Thus, a man with a secrecy refusal since 1969 had long been described as "just a TV research engineer." Only recently, it turned out to have been reconnaissance satellite television. Similarly, "just a football player in the army" played for a missile unit, and "just an army doctor" was a surgeon with a missile brigade.

The conclusion must be that at least some of the secrecy refusals are valid. Being unable to know which ones are valid,

however, the West could justifiably treat as secret installations all those where Russians "state secrets" were available to the Jews who were refused visas.

Soviet Interior Minister Nikolai Shchelokov last month told the sit-in protesters that the maximum refusal period here is five years. They immediately cited the seven-year wait of the TV engineer, the six-year wait of the missile surgeon and others.

He offered to look into such "mistakes" as he called them.

Dissidents are not optimistic that his promised look will make any difference, however, and they use the incident as another reason why they have demanded their reasons for refusal and the expected duration in writing. Only oral data are given now.

The most definitive Soviet statement on grounds for refusal came Nov. 10 in the Tass article that was printed in Izvestia. Two reasons were possible, it said: When the applicant had "access in the course of his duties to works or information that constitute a state secret," and when his departure "seriously infringes on the vitally important rights and interests of other citizens, for example, his dependent children or aged parents."

The Tass statement claimed that the rules for refusal conform to the United Nations covenant on civil and political rights of 1966 as well as the Helsinki declaration of last year.

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332¹⁵⁹

= 10/12 tass 6-10 =

concerning an anti-soviet campaign

culture 1 (one) seven takes

moscow december 10 tass the imperialist and zionist
propaganda launched a new campaign about its own invention
-- the +violation+ of the rights of soviet jews. what they
use for arguments is inventions from renegades and undiluted

lies. but how do citizens of jewish nationality really
live in the ussr? this is the subject of three articles from
tass commentator mikhaïl yevgenyev. the following is the third
of his articles.

/ more /

= 10/12 tass 6-10 =

culture 2 (two)

jews in the ussr: the new and the old in their culture

the western campaign about the alleged oppression of
jews in the soviet union stresses so-called suppression of
jewish culture and +persecution+ of jews, who wish to read and
write in their own language. some people go so far as to say
that any form of jewish culture is suppressed in the ussr.

let us look at the facts. 466 books by jewish writers
were published in 15 languages, spoken by the peoples of the
ussr, and in a combined 46 million copies during the period
between 1955 and 1970. beginning with 1956 the
+sovietsky pisatel+ publishers issued more than 120 books by jew-
ish authors translated into russian and 50 books in the yiddish
language. also published in yiddish were one-volume editions of
the jewish literary classics sholom aleichem, mendel moicher
sforim, e. l. perets and d. bergelson -- in 30 thousand
copies each. the selected works of the father of soviet jewish li-
terature, osher shvartsman, came out in 10 thousand copies.
there were two editions of 6- volume works by sholom aleichem--
in 225 thousand and 150 thousand copies. jewish literature
was never published in such big editions before this.

/ more /

= 10/12 tass 6-10 =

culture 3 (three)

at the present time there are some 70 yiddish-language
writers in the soviet union-- prose writers, poets and pla-
ywrights. in addition to the aforementioned books and
authors, the +sovietsky pisatel+ publishers recently
issued +on all my roads+ by d.

haikina, +barshev motifs+ by h. tabachnikov, +road to
victory+ by ya. rives, +long thread+ by r. rubina, and
+march on+ by m. razumny. these are books of stories.

books by jewish writers are also published in the ukraine,
byelorussia, moldavia and other union republics, in
translations into local languages. the writings of jewish authors
in the soviet union are also printed by the yiddish-language
monthly magazine +sovetish heimland+, published by the union
of soviet writers.

/ more /

= 10/12 tass 6-10 =

culture 4 (four)

one of the oldest soviet writers in yiddish, ilya gordon
recently said in print that +jewish literature in the ussr
developed in close unity with all the rest of soviet literature.

- 23 -

lies, but how do citizens of jewish nationality really live in the ussr? this is the subject of three articles from tass commentator mikhail yevgenyev, the following is the third of his articles.
/ more /

= 10/12 tass 6-10 =
culture 2 (two)

jews in the ussr: the new and the old in their culture

the western campaign about the alleged oppression of jews in the soviet union stresses so-called suppression of jewish culture and +persecution+ of jews, who wish to read and write in their own language, some people go so far as to say that any form of jewish culture is suppressed in the ussr.

Let us look at the facts, 466 books by jewish writers were published in 15 languages, spoken by the peoples of the ussr, and in a combined 46 million copies during the period between 1955 and 1970. beginning with 1956 the +sovietsky pisatel+ publishers issued more than 120 books by jewish authors translated into russian and 50 books in the yiddish language, also published in yiddish were one-volume editions of the jewish literary classics sholom aleichem, mendel moicher sforim, e. l. perets and d. bergelson -- in 30 thousand copies each, the selected works of the father of soviet jewish literature, osher shvartsman, came out in 10 thousand copies, there were two editions of 6-volume works by sholom aleichem-- in 225 thousand and 150 thousand copies, jewish literature was never published in such big editions before this.
/ more /

= 10/12 tass 6-10 =
culture 3 (three)

at the present time there are some 70 yiddish-language writers in the soviet union-- prose writers, poets and playwrights, in addition to the aforementioned books and authors, the +sovietsky pisatel+ publishers recently issued +on all my roads+ by d. haikina, +barshev motifs+ by h. tabachnikov, +road to victory+ by ya. rives, +long thread+ by r. rubina, and +march on+ by m. razumny, these are books of stories.

books by jewish writers are also published in the ukraine, byelorussia, moldavia and other union republics, in translations into local languages, the writings of jewish authors in the soviet union are also printed by the yiddish-language monthly magazine +sovetish heimland+, published by the union of soviet writers.
/ more /

= 10/12 tass 6-10 =
culture 4 (four)

one of the oldest soviet writers in yiddish, ilya gordon recently said in print that +jewish literature in the ussr developed in close unity with all the rest of soviet literature.

the october revolution washed away the jewish pale, established in the russian empire, the revolution took our literature out of the 'cultural ghetto' and helped it get over national limitations, the intention of the zealous zionist activists to push jewish literature in the soviet union back into the closed circle of 'purely jewish problems' and fence it off from the progressive development of the human spirit represents an effort that is sure to fail.

the words of the well-known soviet man-of-letters fully apply to jewish literature in the ussr and to other areas of jewish culture, the play +curfew+, staged by the jewish folk theatre several days ago, was a great success in the lithuanian capital of vilnius, the play was written in yiddish by the vilnius playwright grigori kanovich, the hall of the republican trade union of cultural workers was full although it seats one thousand,
/ more /

= 10/12 tass 6-10 =
culture 5 (five)

48-year-old kanovich is the author of ten plays, his main subject is the terrible suffering of the jewish population in nazi ghettos during the years of occupation, this is the theme treated in +curfew+.

the jewish company of vilnius has a repertoire that includes sholom aleichem: +fiddler on the roof+ according to the story +tevey-the milkman+ and +two hundred thousand+, these are plays that the company has been performing for 20 years, zalman shneer's +freilechs+, the comedies +gershele ostropolart+ and the +wisemen of helm+ by moisha gershenzon, and the drama +do not rpt not say it is the end of the road+ (by the vilnius journalist leib shaus) about the insurrection in the ghetto during the nazi occupation, have gone through scores of performances.
/ more /

= 10/12 tass 6-10 =
culture 6 (six)

maybe things are different in music? but they are not rpt nqt, here is an opinion from professor of the moscow conservatoire leo ginzburg, expressed to pressmen in moscow recently: +jewish musicians, especially the older generation, contributed greatly to the development of soviet musical culture by being directors of the leading musical companies. i can name such outstanding figures in soviet music as ariya pazovsky, samuil samosud and the younger boris haikin, natan rakhlin, yakov zak, sigizmund kats and others, soviet composers have often used jewish folk music and its national intonations in their compositions, a wonderful illustration of this is sergei prokofyev's overture on

- 25 -

jewish themes, the choral series +from jewish folk poetry+ by dmitri shostakovich.

the musical folklore of the jews, like the musical folklore of the ukrainians, latvians, kazakhs, moldavians and others is the property of all soviet art.+
/more /

= 10/12 tass 6-10 =

culture 7 (seven)

the culture of the jews living in the ussr is a both jewish and international culture. it is inspired by the same ideals of internationalism and brotherly friendship between peoples that are the lifeblood for the whole soviet nation.

the so-called defenders of soviet jewry in the west keep calling for the +autonomy+ of jewish culture in the ussr, but what they really mean is not rpt not originality and independence, but a rejection of all that the jewish cultural workers achieved in the ussr, a rejection of contacts and unity between the jewish culture and the ussr and all soviet culture, instead of all this they propose a merger with an ambiguous +single culture+ of all the jews of the world. this is a frank wish to subject jewish culture in the ussr to the influence of zionism, which claims the role of leader for a united jewish nationality. these efforts are futile and will never yield the fruit the zionists expect them to produce.
item ends ++++++

= 10/12 tass 2-24 =

fidel castro's congratulatory message

havana december 10 tass fidel castro, first secretary of the central committee of the communist party of cuba and chairman of the council of state of the republic of cuba, has sent a congratulatory message to the mpla chairman agostinho neto on the occasion of the mpla's 20th anniversary. the message says that the cuban people and the communist party of cuba send fraternal revolutionary greetings to the entire angolan people on this occasion.

the brilliant victories won by the angolan people in the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and reaction are indissolvably linked with the mpla and your firm and correct leadership, the message says. we are convinced that this movement which has selflessly and heroically led the struggle against colonialism can lead the angolan people to victory in building a new society. item ends ++++++

158
329

- 17 -

= 9/12 tass 6-21 =

concerning one anti-soviet campaign
commentator 1 (one) four takes

moscow december 9 tass imperialist and zionist
propaganda has launched a new campaign over the
+jewish question+ it has itself invented, specifically over on
alleged +infringement+ of the rights of soviet jews, lying
statements made by renegades and outright falsifications are
used as +arguments+. how do soviet citizens of jewish nationality
really live in the ussr? this is described in three
stories contributed by tass commentator mikhail yevgenyev,
follows the second one of these materials.

jews in the ussr: how many of them want to read
torah?

propaganda hostile to the soviet union alleges
that judaism is banned in the soviet union and hence the
rights of jewish believers are +infringed+. this new lie is
intended for those who have no rpt no idea of the real con-
ditions in which the soviet jews live.

at the beginning of 1918, a decree on the separation of
the church from the state was adopted in this country at
lenin's initiative. this decree is a major state guarantee
which ensures the implementation of the principle of
the freedom of conscience in the soviet union. under this
law the state does not rpt not interfere in the activities
of religious organizations and the latter do not rpt not
interfere in state affairs.

/more/

= 9/12 tass 6-21 =

commentator 2 (two)

the soviet legislation lays down special legal
standards safeguarding the believers, religious organiza-
tions and religious leaders from any encroachments on their
rights. any discrimination against believers or any violation
of their freedom of conscience are categorically banned by
the law. church funds consisting of voluntary donations
from believers are not rpt not subject to taxation.

there are now about 200 judaic religious commu-
nities. 92 of them are concentrated around permanently
functioning synagogues. the latter are housed in
buildings which were made over by the state to religious
communities for perpetual use free of charge. the state
does not rpt not interfere in their spiritual life. there
are also scores of minhahs in lesser localities where the
population includes religious jews. minhehs are groups of
praying jews including no rpt no less than ten men,

/more/

- 18 -

= 9/12 tass 6-21 =
commentator 3 (three)

in interpreting these figures western propaganda alleged more than once that 92 synagogues are far from being enough for over two million jews. in saying so the +defenders+ of soviet jews say nothing about the fact that most of the people in the soviet union have departed from religion, and this is not rpt not, of course, a result of some administrative measures. believers are, as a rule, old people, an overwhelming majority of the soviet people of the younger generation are materialists and jews are no rpt no exception in this respect.

the number of believers among soviet jews is insignificant. there is no rpt no registration of believers in the soviet union, but selective studies of purely sociological character show that believing jews account for only 3-6 per cent of their total number in the russian federation and the ukraine, for 5-9 per cent in the baltic republics - lithuania, estonia and latvia, and for 7-12 per cent among georgian, north caucasian and bukhara jews.

even during such religious holidays as simha torah, rosh hashona, and peisah, no rpt no more than 2-3 per cent of the jewish population assemble in synagogues in novosibirsk, leningrad, kuibyshev and other big cities.
/more/

= 9/12 tass 6-21 =
commentator 4 (four)

a steady decline in the number of believers is a natural process which takes place not rpt not only in our country and which is characteristic not rpt not only of judaism. a yeshivah, a jewish rabbinical seminary has been functioning at moscow's choral synagogue for about 20 years now. its students are paid large grants and given kosher food. nevertheless, this seminary has experienced throughout the years considerable enrolment difficulties. a church career is not rpt not a popular one among young soviet jews. there were years when no rpt no students could be recruited for the yeshivah. at present ten persons are preparing themselves for this career. the now late chief moscow rabbi yeguda leib levin once told about his attempts to persuade his own grandson to choose the career of a rabbi. the boy answered: +do you really want me to become a rabbi who does not rpt not believe in god?+ only then his grandfather left him alone.

is there any need for more facts to show all the falsity of allegations of zionist propaganda that +the rights of believing jews are infringed+ by the soviet authorities?
item ends +++++

-40-

= 8/12 tass 2-39 =

cpsu delegation in angola
 luanda december 8 tass a cpsu delegation headed by
 first secretary of the voronezh regional committee of the cpsu
 vadim ignatov arrived here today on the invitation of the
 central committee of the popular movement for the liberation
 of angola (mpla). the cpsu delegation will take part in celeb-
 rations to mark the 20th anniversary of the mpla.
 item ends +++++

= 8/12 tass 6-14 =

concerning an anti-soviet campaign
 commentary 1 (one) four takes
 moscow december 8 tass imperialist and zionist propaganda
 has launched yet another campaign around its invented +question+
 of +infringement of the rights of soviet jews+. renegates'
 inventions, undisguised falsification are used as arguments
 to prove this, how do citizens of the jewish nationality
 really live in the ussr? tass commentator mikhaïl yevgeniyev
 writes about this in three installments, the first follows
 today.

jews in ussr: nowadays and a little of history
 moscow december 8 tass tass commentator mikhaïl yevgeniyev
 writes:

in kiev, the capital of the soviet ukraine, there is a street
 named after cholom aleichem, one of the streets in the
 ancient russian town of yaroslavl bears the name of revolu-
 tionary natam nakhimson, in kronstadt, near leningrad, there is
 a boulevard named after civil war hero grigory feigin,
 in vilnius, the capital of soviet lithuania, one of the
 streets bears the name of hero-anti-fascist izhak vitenberg,
 well-known in moscow is the street named after hero of the
 soviet union lazar paperny. different towns, but in every of
 them there is a street named after a prominent citizen of the
 ussr -- a jew by nationality.

according to the census of the population taken in 1970,
 in the ussr there are about 2,150,000 jews, had it not rpt not
 been for war, the jewish population would most probably have
 exceeded four millions by now. almost 2 million jews were
 destroyed on the ussr's territory which in the years of war
 was temporarily occupied by nazis. almost 200,000 people, about
 70,000 of them jews, were shot dead by nazis in the babyi yar
 alone, near kiev.
 / more /

= 8/12 tass 6-14 =

commentary 2 (two)

the overwhelming majority of people only smile at the
 attempts made by western +well - wishers+ to convince the soviet
 jews that the ussr is not rpt not their motherland.
 according to historians, jews, who came from palestine lived
 in the caucasus, on the territory of present-day georgia,
 already at the time of the barkokhba uprising in 132 a.d.
 jews settled in the kievian rus and lithuania approximately
 in the 8th century, in the history of the muscovy rus the
 first mention of jews dates back to 1474. tsarism in

rudder cultivated national strife, set one nation against another. approximately since the end of the 18th century the inequality of jews was legalized and became tzarism's official policy. antisemitism organically stemmed from the national policy of russian autocracy. 2 million people, a third of the jewish population, emigrated from tzarist russia in a period from 1881 to 1914.

+the declaration of the rights of the peoples of russia+, signed by lenin on november 16, 1917, soon after the victory of the october socialist revolution in russia, granted genuine freedom to all its peoples. the declaration became the first most important step, made by the soviet state in national emancipation of the peoples of the former russian empire, including the jewish population. in 1936 the constitution of the soviet union made all the citizens of the ussr equal, while, direct or indirect limitation of the rights of the working people on grounds of their race or nationality was made a punishable offence.
/ more /

= 8/12 tass 6-14 =
commentary 3 (three)

the changes that have taken place in the position of jews during the years of soviet power are really tremendous, they cover all aspects of life. tzarism prevented in every way possible the education of jews. it introduced a law on the so-called percentage rate: there could be not rpt not more than ten per cent of jews at gymnasiums and not rpt not more than 3-5 per cent at higher educational establishments, at present, there are nine times as many persons of higher education per thousand of the jewish population of the ussr then among the russian population,

in the old days, the educational limit and the jewish pale, which banned jews from settling outside strictly preset territories and other restrictions resulted in the fact that the lot of the jews was only several trades, all of them, with rare exceptions, were small shop-keepers or handicraftsmen. at present, jews in the ussr are factory and office workers, collective farmers and agronomists, medical nurses and physicians, professors and academicians, officers and generals, writers and actors, public figures and statesmen.
/ more /

= 8/12 tass 6-14 =
commentary 4 (four)

some 35 thousand soviet citizens of jewish nationality were elected deputies of the soviets -- the organs of soviet power. almost 340 thousand jews were decorated with the orders and medals of the ussr for feats of arms or labour, and 117 were named heroes of the soviet union, 76 -- heroes of socialist labour, the highest awards in this country.

among the jews, who were twice and thrice awarded the hammer and sickle medal of hero of socialist labour are the outstanding aircraft designer semyon lavochkin, academician yakov zeldovich, academician yuli khariton and boris vannikov, a statesman and one of the organizers of the soviet union's defence industry. colonel-general of the army david dragunsky is twice hero of the soviet union.

a few concrete examples cited above are sufficient to see the real worth of the allegations made by the unbidden solicitor for soviet jews, who are trying to prove that the latter are oppressed, honestly, the inventors of the fabrications repeated over and over by the western and zionist propaganda should remember the old jewish proverb saying that +telling lies and eating fish are two occupations, which take special care+. item ends +++++

Thursday, December 9, 1976

603+3+33352+00

F. 201.5.

325
157

7

PROVOCATIVE PLAN

Boris Ruikovich

On December 8, Vladimir Popov, Deputy Minister of Culture of the USSR, met a group of people trying to convene a so-called symposium on Jewish culture in the USSR.

Vladimir Popov declared that the Ministry of Culture considers this idea to be a provocative plan that contravenes Soviet laws.

Popov pointed out that the event being planned by international Zionism is in fundamental contradiction with the Soviet stand and principles of approach both to the problem of the development of the Jewish national culture in the USSR and the participation of Soviet Jews in the development of the Soviet multinational culture.

Vladimir Popov emphasized that the Zionist approach to the Jewish culture in the USSR is not national but nationalistic, claiming an exclusive role for the Jews. At the same time he stressed that Soviet Jewry have every opportunity for self-expression through culture and cultural activities. Many achievements of the multinational Soviet culture, said the Deputy Minister, are associated with the names of famous Soviet artists, musicians, actors and writers who are Jews. They have been awarded top distinctions by the Soviet Motherland.

The Soviet Deputy Minister of Culture warned that all the activities to prepare and organize the so-called symposium directly contradict Soviet legislation and established procedure in such cases.

The combination of the nationalistic tendency of the planned gathering and the illegal methods of organizing it, declared Vladimir Popov, testify to the provocative nature of the whole idea.

(TASS, December 8. In full.)

THE END

Wednesday, December 8, 1976

603+3+33341+00

4

IN SERRIED RANKS

The inaugural issue of the popular literary Yiddish monthly, Sovietish Heimland (Soviet Motherland) came out 15 years ago. Our correspondent interviewed its Editor-in-Chief, Aron Vergelis, a well-known Soviet poet and journalist.

"First of all, I would like to congratulate you, the permanent head of Sovietish Heimland, the members of your staff, and your readers on this jubilee occasion. In this connection, could you give some details about your publication?"

"I thank you for the congratulations, but before answering your question, I would like to digress a bit by quoting several lines from the introductory address by Alexei Maximovich Gorky at the opening of the First USSR Writers' Congress on August 17, 1934. On the subject of the meaning and significance of the Writers' Union, Gorky said: 'This significance is that the multi-national and multilingual literature of all our republics comes forth as a single whole in the face of the proletariat of the Land of Soviets, in the face of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries and in the face of men of letters of the entire world who are friendly towards us.'

'We not only demonstrate our association in a geographic sense, but also the identity of our aims, which, naturally, do not deny, and do not stand in the way of, the diverse nature of our styles of writing and aspirations.'

"Soviet Yiddish literature is an inseparable component of the great multi-national Soviet culture. Just like streams feed a deep river and just like these same streams draw strength from this river, so does Soviet Yiddish literature, preserving its own traditions and specific features, but having a single Marxist-Leninist world outlook, make its contribution to the common treasury of socialist culture and draw its strength from this treasury.

"If I may put it this way, the journal, Sovietish Heimland, is the first screen of literature published in Yiddish in our country. Our pages are open to prose writers, poets, playwrights, and journalists. We familiarise our readers with the latest works of Soviet Yiddish literature. By the way, Sovietish Heimland has steady subscribers not only in our country, but in 30 other countries, too.

"Our journal has in the last five years alone published 22 novels, 340 stories and documentary features, and about 1,800 poems and ballads.

Wednesday, December 8, 1976

- 2 -

"Many works are originally printed in Sovietish Heimland, and the best are later put out in separate editions and translated into Russian and other languages. If you should have the possibility of visiting libraries in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Uzbekistan and the rest of the republics, you would find there works of Soviet Yiddish prose writers and poets."

"Since we have touched upon the subject of the results of the work done by the journal in the past 15 years, could you give some details about the people who contribute to Sovietish Heimland, about contemporary Yiddish authors?"

"You've put me in a rather difficult position. The point is that there are almost 150 poets, prose-writers, critics and journalists -- many of them are members of the Soviet Writers' Union -- who are writing in their native language, the Yiddish. To name them all would take a lot of space, so I'll mention only a few of them, hoping that the other will not take this amiss. Among the prose-writers are Shira Gorshman, Samuil Gordon and Tevye Ghen from Moscow, Note Lurie, an Odessan, Iyekhil Falikman and Girsh Polyanker from Kiev, Buzi Miller, a Birobijanian, and Iyekhil Shraibman from Kishinev.. Among the poets are Avraam Gontar, Girsh Bloshtein, Khaim Beider and Dora Khaikina."

"So the Jewish Yiddish-speaking writers have found their rightful place in Soviet literature."

"Nevertheless, some people abroad, particularly Zionist propagandists, are trying to spread the impression that there is no Yiddish literature in this country and that Jewish culture is on the verge of extinction here."

"Well, their methods are not new. The better we fare, the worse they feel. It is the upsurge of Jewish and other national cultures in the Soviet Union that makes them so angry."

"When I travelled abroad I had to speak to many of them through an interpreter: they couldn't speak either Yiddish or Hebrew. Most of their Jewish magazines are in English, French and German. These 'fighters' for the cause of Jewish culture in the United States, Italy, Belgium and Holland never take the trouble to go elsewhere. They prefer to 'struggle' from afar. They do not feel like going to Israel. They don't like the climate there..."

"It is an open secret that Zionism and anti-Sovietism pursue the same objectives and employ the same methods. They seem to have the same source of income."

Wednesday, December 8, 1976

4

322

- 3 -

"As for the lamentations, about alleged disappearance of Jewish literature in the Soviet Union and all kind of lies and allegations that Sholom Aleikhem is the only Jewish writer whose books are published in this country, I would recommend these weepers to visit our libraries where books by Sholom Aleikhem rub shoulders with those by Mendel Moikher-Sforim, Itzkhok-Leibush Perets and founders of Soviet Jewish literature O. Shvartsman, D. Bergelson, P. Markish, I. Fefer, D. Gofshtein, A. Kushnirov, and I. Kharik, and books by modern Jewish writers. And I would also recommend them to visit at least one readers' conference sponsored by our magazine. This would be very instructive for them."

(Vechernyaya Moskva, December 7. Abridged.)

THE END

324⁵³

Wednesday, December 8, 1976

4

603+3+33342+00

VICTIMS OF ZIONIST PROPAGANDA

An "Appeal to Jews Living in the USSR", signed by the members of a sponsoring group on behalf of 300 former Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality who now live on the outskirts of the Italian capital, in Ostia, sounds as a sad admission of their errors and as an indictment of Zionism and its propagandists. The Appeal has been sent to the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations Organization, to the USSR Mission to the United Nations, and to the USSR Embassy in Italy.

"Zionism means deception, grief and misfortune for the Jewish people. This is what we, a group of Jews, former Soviet citizens who fled Israel and now found ourselves in Italy, think", the Appeal says. The authors of the Appeal admit that the true and the main cause of their departure for Israel was the influence of Israeli propaganda, the 'Voice of Israel' radio broadcasts, letters, written on Zionists' instruction, from the long forgotten relatives, lavish promises and high talk of a certain 'world brotherhood' of Jews.

In Israel, the authors of the Appeal write, they found themselves looked upon as people of the lowest sort. Even those who managed to get a job had a hard time. In Israel, everything proved alien to them: the alien order, the alien language, and the animosity on the part of the indigenous population and the Zionist policy of dividing people into castes on a racial and religious basis. "Zionists take our children away to the army and send them to fight for alien interests, against peoples to whom we have no and did not have any hostility, and with whom we want to live in peace," the Appeal says.

The Israeli officials capitalize on us and pocket much money. We curse the moment when it first occurred to us to leave our native land, write the authors of the Appeal. We cannot pardon ourselves, since it is impossible to return to the Soviet Union because of our folly.

The Appeal points out that many dream of leaving Israel, but seeing that the government of Israel took a number of measures to make it more difficult to leave the country. "To return to Israel," they write further, "is tantamount to a suicide to us.... It is bitter to think that it is only in the capitalist country that we came to realise in a genuine way what a great boon it is to have free medical aid and a guaranteed right to

Wednesday, December 8, 1976

-2-

4

work, confidence in tomorrow. We realised how terrible it is when one has no such confidence, and when one does not know how to maintain one's children and is ready to agree to any job".

The authors of the Appeal write with bitterness that they found themselves in a trap. They are told in Zionist organizations and the embassies of Western countries: "Either return to Israel or you may die of starvation, Your destiny is of no concern to us."

"We are appealing to all the Jews in the USSR to heed our voice and not fall for the Zionist propaganda," the Appeal says in conclusion. "All that we experienced in the West is beyond description. It should be firmly stated that Zionism brings not joy and happiness but only separation, grief, tears and sorrow."

(TASS, December 7. Summary.)

THE END

319¹⁵⁴

-49-

= 7/12 tass 6-26 =

jewish literature in ussr
 literature 1 (one) three takes
 moscow december 7 tass jewish literature in the
 ussr +is developing, maturing and gaining strength in the
 united family of soviet literature+, writes the well-known
 soviet jewish writer ilya gordon. one of the veteran soviet
 writers in yiddish has published an article in +literaturnaya
 gazeta+ about the emergence, development
 and present state of jewish literature in the
 soviet union. the article gives an answer to the noisy campaign
 conducted in the west about +oppression of jews+ in the soviet
 union, a reply to those who lament alleged +discrimination
 against jewish culture, notably literature and persecution+
 of those who would like to write or read in their native language.
 +jewish soviet literautre is part and parcel of the
 multinational soviet literature+, declares ilya gordon.
 +there are now about 70 prose writers, poets and dramatists in
 the soviet union who write in yiddish. they publish their works
 in the monthly magazine +sovetisch heimland+, an organ of
 the ussr union of writers, and in the +sovetsky pisatel+
 publishing house which brings out their of works in the original
 and in russian translation+. / more /

= 7/12 tass 6-26 =
 literature 2 (two)

+since 1956, ilya gordon goes on, this publishing
 house issued more than 120 books in russian translation and
 50 books in yiddish. other publications in yiddish include
 one-volume collections of the jewish literary
 classics sholom aleichem, mendele moicher-svorima, i.l.
 perets, d. bergelson with the press run of 30,000 copies
 and the collected works of orshar schwartsman, one of the founders
 of jewish soviet literature, in an edition of 10,000. such
 massive editions of jewish literature have never been published
 before+.

ilya gordon also lists more than ten jewish writers whose
 works have been published in russian translation by the +khudo-
 zhestvennaya literatura+ publishers. they include two six-
 -volume editions of sholom aleichem's collected works with
 press runs of 225,000 and 100,000 copies. / more /

= 7/12 tass 6-26 =
 literature 3 (three)

+books by soviet jewish writers, ilya gordon notes,
 are also published in the ukraine, byelorussia, moldavia and
 other union republics translated into the languages of those
 republics+.

between 1955 and 1970, 466 books by jewish writers
 were published in the 15 languages of the ussr with
 a total press run of more than 45 million copies+.

the author of the article, ilya gordon, has been writing
 for nearly fifty years. he has to his name three novels and
 many stories. many of his works have
 been translated and published in russian, ukrainian and other

318

-50-

Languages of the ussr peoples. +sovetsky pistatel+ publishers
are preparing for publication a new novel of by
gordon titled +under the hot sun+. ilya gordon is member of the
board of the moscow writers' organization. item ends +++++

5337

-38-

immunisation of the population has been carried out on 50 million people, mostly inhabitants of large cities where the infection hazard is greatest.

an important measure, said the deputy minister, is the right given to influenza patients not rpt not to go to the out-patient clinic but have the doctor make a house call. the patient gets a paid sick leave of five working days. this measure contributes to early recovery, reduces the risk of complications and curbs the spread of infection.
item ends +++++

= 7/12 tass 4-21 =

the truth about the zionist +paradise+
appeal 1 (one) six takes
new york december 7 tass +zionism means deception, grief and misfortune for the jewish people. this is what we a group of jews, former soviet citizens, who fled israel and now found ourselves in italy think,+ says an +appeal to the jews living in the ussr+, signed by the members of a sponsoring group on behalf of 300 former soviet citizens of jewish nationality who now live on the outskirts of the italian capital, in ostia. the appeal is addressed to the human rights committee of the united nations organization, to the ussr mission at the united nations and the ussr embassy in italy.
+several years ago we left the soviet union for israel, the authors of the appeal wrote, it seemed to us that each had weighty reasons for going to that country. some wanted to reunite with their relatives. others hoped to find high pay and easy life in israel, and third thought that this is where, as they imagined, was the real native land of all jews. but the true and the main cause was one: the influence of zionist propaganda, the 'voice of israel' radio broadcast, letters from long-forgotten or even non-existent relatives, written on zionists' instruction, lavish promises and high-flown talk of a certain 'world brotherhood' of jews.
/more/

= 7/12 tass 4-21 =

appeal 2 (two)

we left in the ussr our friends, favourite jobs where we were respected, and numerous relatives. what did we find in the 'promised land' to where we longed to go? it is exactly in israel that we grasped the essence of democracy and its true meaning. in that country we found ourselves looked upon as peoples of the lowest sort. even those who managed to get a job had a hard time. do you know what it means to work for the owner -capitalist who can sack you at any moment and who manages your destiny at will? you don't, hey? we regarded with distrust what we were told about this in the ussr. in israel everything proved alien: the alien order, the alien language, unfriendly and even hostile relations between people, animosity on the part of the indigenous population, and the zionists' policy of dividing people into castes on a racial and religious basis. zionists

-39-

take our children away to the army and send them fight for alien interests against peoples to whom we do not and did not feel any hostility, and with whom we want to live in peace.
/ more /

= 7/12 tass 4-21 =
appeal 3 (three)

of course, in israel there are people who are rather well-off, all kinds of rogues and swindlers can find a place there, they easily find friends in society where everything is decided first of all by money. an honest man has nothing to do in that country.

israeli officials capitalise on us and pocket much money. in many countries of the world mainly in the usa there live very and very wealthy jews. since they are wealthy it means that they have their people in the state department and in congress and dictate their terms to all.

they raise money among all jews and send it to israel through the jewish 'makbita' communities but none of them is going to live in israel. money which israel gets for assistance to the new arrivals of 'alimm' from the ussr are largely embezzled by israeli officials.

we curse the moment when the miscreant thought of leaving our native land where we were born and where we left our homes, friends and relatives, the language and culture, came to our heads. we cannot pardon ourselves for that, since it is impossible to return to the soviet union because of our folly. while leaving our native land we knew that we were embarking not on a tourist trip. many tens of thousands of soviet jews have already left israel and went to other countries. but what awaits them there?
/more/

= 7/12 tass 4-21 =
appeal 4 (four)

many dream of leaving israel. but seeing that, the government took a number of measures to make it difficult to leave the country. we have been in rome for more than a year now and are trying to go to other countries. but israel cut off all the ways to prevent the world public from learning the real state of affairs. they want to suppress us economically because we are soviet jews.

to return to israel is to us tantamount to suicide, this is not rpt not our country, not rpt not our people, this is a place where there are no rpt no spiritual values for us. this is a world where cultural life and many other things do not rpt not correspond to those high standards which we got accustomed to and which are within everyone's reach in the ussr.

it is bitter to think that it is only in the capitalist country that we came to realise in a genuine way what a great boon it is to have free medical aid, a guaranteed right

-40-

to work and education, confidence in tomorrow. we realised how terrible it is when one has no rpt no such confidence and when one does not rpt not know how to maintain one's children and is ready to agree to any job.
/more/

= 7/12 tass 4-21 =
appeal 5 (five)

we could not rpt not stand life in israel, but we found ourselves in a trap. it is easy to get to israel but difficult to get out of it. the soviet union strictly observes the provision of the helsinki act and allows persons of jewish nationality to go to israel, the state of things is different in the west. we got out of israel with a great difficulty and came to rome, but things here proved no rpt no better either. there are no rpt no jobs for us. we have worn out our clothes, and our children do not rpt not go to school. some people, having failed to save for the rainy day, are starving. everybody turned away from us. we hoped to leave rome for the usa or canada but we are not rpt not let in there either. we are told in zionist organisations and the embassies of western countries: +either you return to israel or you may die of starvation. your destiny is of no rpt no concern to us. +

we staged demonstrations and hunger strikes, wrote letters and applications to various organizations -- all in vain. we only saw for ourselves once again that zionists needed us only as cannon fodder for israel, as cheap labour force n as pawns in their dirty political machinations. they batten on us -- for each emigrant from socialist countries israel gets money from the usa, money which zionists unconscionably embezzle. they speculate on our grief and suffering.
/more/

= 7/12 tass 4-21 =
appeal 6 (six)

much is spoken and written in the west, with reference to a handful of zionist provocateurs who are temporarily denied departure from the ussr for security reasons, about imaginary persecution of jewish population in the ussr. 'fighters for freedom', similar to them, upon arriving in the west are not rpt not ashamed of admitting that they got and continue getting not rpt not inconsiderable recompense from zionist organisations for their instigatory, anti-state activities in the ussr. many of those who, like us, found themselves in a tragic position, largely owe this to such provocateurs. we deny as false and invented the western propaganda assertions about persecution of jews and about anti-semitism in the ussr.

we are calling on all jews in the ussr to heed our voice and not rpt not fall for zionist propaganda.

all that we experienced in the west is beyond description. it should be firmly stated that zionism brings not rpt not joy and happiness but only separation, grief, tears and sorrow+,
item ends ++++++

= 7/12 tass 5-10. =

poetry 1 (one) two takes
isaak bronfman's verses

birobidjan december 7 tass +my file+ is a new book of
verses written in yiddish by the jewish poet isaak bronfman.
it is planned for publication by the +sovetsky pisatel+
publishing house in moscow.

+my file and my life are in my verses,+ said the 63-year-
old poet. +my biography is visible in the verses i wrote and
the verses are a part of my country's biography,+

isaak bronfman was 18 years old when he came to take
part in building birobidjan, the center of the jewish
autonomous region in the soviet far east. he worked as a tractor
driver at a cooperative farm during the daytime and spent the
evenings at the village entertainment center reading his verses
to his fellow-workers.
/ more /

= 7/12 tass 5-10 =

poetry 2 (two)

the poet fought in the second world war and was
an officer in the tank troops. he took part in liberating hungary,
rumania and czechoslovakia from the nazis. when the war
was over isaak bronfman took a job as correspondent for the
+birobidjan stern+ a yiddish-language newspaper in birobid-
jan. the main subject of isaak bronfman's writings is the
wonderful changes that are taking place in the life of his
fellow-countrymen, he writes about the people, of whom the
jewish region is proud, in verses that are printed by
+sovietish heimland+ magazine, in the +gorizont+
anthology of poems written by soviet jews and in books. this
subject is treated with great strength in bronfman's new book
+my file+.

item ends +++++

314

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

INWARD CABLEGRAM

153
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From: LONDON

No.: 709

Received: 9.12.76

CONFIDENTIAL

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LMS 503

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TO.
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F.150

C O N F I D E N T I A L

JEWS AND THE SOVIET UNION

WE RAISED QUESTIONS IN YOUR REFTEL WITH LYNE, EAST EUROPE
DEPARTMENT FCO, ON 8 DECEMBER.

Pity
we
couldn't
have
supplied

2. LYNE SAID THAT THE OVERALL PATTERN FOR JEWISH EMIGRATION IN 1976
APPEARED ALMOST IDENTICAL TO THAT FOR 1975 AND IT SEEMED LIKELY
THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE AN EXIT VISA QUOTA OF ABOUT 1,000 PER MONTH.
THE TOTAL FOR 1976 WOULD, THEREFORE, PROBABLY BE 11,000 TO 12,000.

3. DURING THE PONOMARYOV VISIT TO LONDON IN OCTOBER HE HAD CLAIMED
THAT, FROM THE BEGINNING OF JEWISH EMIGRATION TO THE PRESENT, 98.4
PERCENT OF ALL JEWISH APPLICATIONS TO EMIGRATE HAD BEEN GRANTED.
PONOMARYOV QUOTED A FIGURE OF 11,700 FOR 1975 WHICH THE FCO THOUGHT
LOOKED ABOUT RIGHT. HE ADDED THAT THERE WERE AT PRESENT 2,500 OUT-
STANDING APPLICATIONS TO EMIGRATE BUT THERE WERE ALSO 2,000
APPLICATIONS FROM SOVIET JEWS WHO WISHED TO RETURN TO THE SOVIET
UNION. LYNE FELT THAT THE LATTER FIGURE SOUNDED A LITTLE HIGH ALTH-
OUGH THERE WAS NO DOUBT THAT THERE HAD BEEN A BIG RISE IN THE NUMBERS
INTERESTED IN RETURNING.

4. LYNE SAID THAT AMERICAN PRESSURE AT THE TIME OF THE NIXON/BREZHNEV
HONEYMOON HAD PRODUCED A MORE LIBERAL ATTITUDE IN THE SOVIET UNION
TO JEWISH EMIGRATION BUT THIS HAD COME TO AN ABRUPT HALT WHEN CONGRES
INSERTED THE JEWISH EMIGRATION CONDITION INTO THE U.S./SOVIET TRADE
BILL. SINCE THEN THERE HAS BEEN A DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS
THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE HAD HAD NO NOTICEABLE EFFECT ON THIS.

Ar. Sec. B

CONFIDENTIAL

National Archives of Australia

NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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312

From: London

No.: 709

Received: 9.12.76

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5. IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO MAKE ANY QUANTITATIVE ASSESSMENT BUT THERE PROBABLY HAD BEEN PARALLEL DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS TO EMIGRATE. THERE WAS NOW LESS INCENTIVE FOR JEWS TO LEAVE RUSSIA AND NEWS OF THE DIFFICULTIES FACED BY THOSE WHO WERE KEENEST TO LEAVE WOULD HAVE GOT OUT THREE OR FOUR YEARS AGO. SOVIET INTIMIDATION AND HARASSMENT OF POTENTIAL EMGRANTS WAS, NO DOUBT, ALSO A FACTOR. THERE WAS NO SIGN THAT THIS HAD BEEN RELAXED, AND SPECIFIC CASES WERE CONTINUALLY COMING TO LIGHT.

6. COMMENTING ON THE DESTINATIONS OF THE EMIGRANTS, LYNE SAID THAT WHEREAS IN 1972/73 ALL BUT ABOUT FIVE PERCENT OF THOSE ARRIVING IN VIENNA WENT TO ISRAEL, BUT 1976 THAT FIGURE HAD RISEN TO FIFTY PER CENT. THE SORT OF PEOPLE LEAVING THE SOVIET UNION NOW TENDED NOT TO BE SUCH ARDENT ZIONISTS AND WERE OFTEN PROFESSIONALLY EDUCATED PEOPLE WHO FELT THAT THEIR OPPORTUNITIES WOULD BE BETTER ELSEWHERE.

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8.2.1976 1975 1,000 1976 11,000 12,000 3 98.4 11.700 1975 2,500
2,000 4 5 6 1972/73 1976

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International Message Form

AUSTRALIAN DIPLOMATIC NETWORK

CONFIDENTIAL

311 151

RED SECTIONS OF FORM MUST BE COMPLETED BY THE ORIGINATOR.

In precedence columns **PREC** insert BB for BAG DESPATCH or RR for ROUTINE.
PP for PRIORITY, II for IMMEDIATE or EE for EMERGENCY telegraphic transmission.
BLUE sections are for use by communications personnel only.

20450/73-L

Taped	<i>Jam</i>
Typed	M.J. McMahon
Cyphd	
Sent	<i>Jan</i>

Reference No.	Time/date of lodgment	XXX	CLA	MSL 262
O. MS 4838				
TO. ACTION POSTS (TO)				
RR CANBERRA	/ 4420	/	/	/
RR LONDON	/ 1413	WASHINGTON	/ 362	/
RP. INFORMATION POSTS (REPEATED TO)				
FM. Originating post	MOSCOW	/ FILE 201.4-2	REF O. CH443091	
Security classification	CONFIDENTIAL			
Subject heading	JEWS IN SOVIET UNION			

We have issued 26 visas for Soviet Jews so far this year. There are probably about 500 outstanding applications from Soviet citizens for entry visas into Australia who are waiting for Soviet exit visas and we estimate that as many as 25% could be from Soviet Jews. Figures on the total number of exit visas issued by the Soviet authorities to Soviet Jews so far this year are not readily available in Moscow. *(The total number of visas issued so far this year is 104 including the 26 Jewish.)*

2. There has been an increase in the number of articles in the Soviet press recently concerning human rights issues in the Soviet Union in general and the question of exit visas in particular. These articles are seen by observers in Moscow as a response to recent Western interest in human rights issues in the Soviet Union. On 9 November TASS issued an unsigned statement containing a strong defence of the Soviet Union's emigration policies which claimed, inter alia, that the Soviet Union "completely and attentively" studies all requests by citizens to leave the country for reunion with relatives abroad and that refusals of exit visas occur "in an insignificant number of cases, when a citizen announcing a desire to leave the Soviet Union had access in the course of his duties to work or information representing a state secret". This theme was echoed in the weekly periodical "New Times" of 19 November where the assistant editor-in-chief claimed that refusal of permits to live abroad took place in two cases only:

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Authorised by:	(Enter distribution instructions on reverse side of form)		
J. Plimsoll	<i>J. Plimsoll</i>	8.12.76	Ambassador
Block letters	Signature	Date	Dept/Bch/Sect
			Phone No.

National Archives of Australia

NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

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Mr. J. L. Thompson

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...

U.S. Ambassador

U.S. Ambassador

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International Message Form

AUSTRALIAN DIPLOMATIC NETWORK

310

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Taped	
Typed	M.J.McMahon
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20450/73-L

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O.				
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PREC	/	/	/	/
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RP. INFORMATION POSTS (REPEATED TO)				
PREC	/	/	/	/
	/	/	/	/
FM. Originating post	/	FILE		REF. O.
Security classification				
Subject heading				

2.

"when a citizen wishing to leave the USSR is by virtue of his former duties the bearer of certain information (military, military industrial and other state secrets) or if his departure abroad would lead to a serious infringement of vitally important rights and interests of other citizens."

The same article claims that in the five year period 1970-1975 some 98.4% of all applications for exit permits were granted.

3. Many of the refusals to grant exit visas to Soviet Jews have been explained by the Soviet authorities along the lines above, the most common "explanation" being that the person(s) concerned had access to "state secrets". (We understand from a western correspondent in Moscow that this was the reason given by the authorities for their refusal to grant exit visas to the "Otkazniki" - our memorandum 1049 refers.) The possession of "state secrets" is of course a loose formulation and allows the authorities wide discretion. There have also been claims from time to time that where a person has been trained at great expense to the nation he should not leave without repaying this either by work or by monetary payment.

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NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

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1. U. S. S. R.

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AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

INWARD CABLEGRAM

150
309

From: CANBERRA

No.: 4093

Received: 3.12.76

26 issued
about 500 outstanding - rough approx 1/4 Jewish.

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LMS268

CLE313

221.4.2

O.CH443091 1649 3.12.76 CLA

TO.
PP. MOSCOW/4093

RP.
RR. LONDON/2573 WASHINGTON/1799

FM. CANBERRA / FILE 69/2/5/7

C O N F I D E N T I A L

JEWS IN SOVIET UNION

WE ARE PREPARING BRIEF FOR MINISTER BY 9 DECEMBER ON ABOVE QUESTION.

2. WE HOLD FIGURES ON EXIT VISAS TO END 1975. GRATEFUL ANY FIGURES FOR 1976 AND COMMENTS ON PRESENT SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS JEWISH EMIGRATION AND JEWS WHO HAVE APPLIED FOR VISAS. YOUR MEMO. 1049 RECEIVED AND USEFUL.

XC. O.CH443091 1649 3.12.76 4093 2573 1799
69/2/5/7 9.1975 1976 1049

CM.

Mr Dyer - figures.

Dr. Gee - comments.

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

F. 201. 4. 2.
308
149

File : 1634/28/2

23 September 1976

Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW

Memo No : 522

Australian Embassy,
TEL AVIV

Memo No :

Australian Mission to the
United Nations,
GENEVA

Memo No :

EMIGRATION OF FORMER SOVIET CITIZENS OF JEWISH ORIGIN

Please find attached copies of correspondence received from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs in connection with their program for the entry of a certain number of Soviet Jews into Australia in the current financial year.

2. The Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs is seeking from posts separate statistics on each of the three categories for Soviet Jews allowed entry, those ex-Russia, unsponsored Soviet Jews and Soviet Jews ex-Israel.

D. E. Wright

(D.E. Wright)
Immigration Section

Miss Nimmo

*Could you please keep
stats on this if not already*



TELEGRAMS 'IMMIGRATION' CANBERRA
TELEPHONE 730412
IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE

307
Confidential
DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION
AND ETHNIC AFFAIRS

CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

10 September 1976

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA.

Attention: Mr D. Wright

EMIGRATION OF FORMER SOVIET CITIZENS
OF JEWISH ORIGIN
(Reference your 1634/28/2)

ENCLOSURES *ATTACHED*

I enclose a copy of instructions issued to relevant overseas posts concerning the acceptance of Soviet Jews for entry to Australia.

These instructions clarify the matters raised in the correspondence from the Australian Embassy in Vienna dated 14 and 15 July, 1976.

C.W. McPherson
(C.W. McPHERSON)
for Secretary

Confidential

*To the Australian Mission to the U.N.
Geneva.*

DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION
AND ETHNIC AFFAIRS

CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

CONFIDENTIAL

6 September 1976

CMO London, Rome
SMO Vienna, Paris, Cologne
MO Berne, Brussels
Selection & Review Branch

SOVIET JEWS

Arrangements were made late in 1974 and last year to allow entry to Australia of three categories of Soviet Jews. A similar programme has been approved for the current financial year as follows: -

- (1) Soviet Jews ex Russia. Up to 120 cases may be accepted under the same conditions outlined in previous memos from this office dated 8.12.74 and 21.10.75 (photocopies attached).
- (2) Un-sponsored Soviet Jews. Up to 100 persons in this category may be accepted subject to the conditions of paragraph 2 of our memo of 21.10.75.
- (3) Soviet Jews ex Israel. Previous instructions contained in paragraphs 3 and 4 of memo of 21.10.75 still apply and up to 50 persons may be accepted in this category.

2. Would you please ensure that separate statistics for each of the above categories are included in your monthly returns. In paragraph 6 of memorandum of 21.10.75 separate statistics for categories (1) and (3) only were requested. Statistics relating to category (2) - un-sponsored Soviet Jews - should also be included in future returns.

3. The usual interviewing will take place. During counselling it is expected that careful note will be taken of the background of these people, and information gained provided on the interviewing sheet.

(C.W. McPHERSON)
for Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

LABOR AND

74/95395
J&J

Unit 5, Barton

21 October 1975

Migration of Soviet Jews

Arrangements already exist whereby a number of Soviet Jews who have arrived in Europe direct from USSR may be considered for entry under the sponsorship of the Federation of Australian Jewish Welfare Societies. This programme allows for the entry of up to 160 cases by the end of 1975 and has been arranged through the Chief Migration Officer, Rome.

2 The Minister has now agreed to up to 100 other Soviet Jews, who have arrived in Europe direct from the USSR and have refugee status, being considered for entry under our refugee programme in 1975/76. This arrangement is to enable special consideration to be given to refugees who lack the sponsorship of the Federation. Under our refugee policy such applicants are not required to be within the acceptable occupational categories, but are expected to be assessed as economically viable. Those outside the acceptable categories otherwise assessed as suitable, should be counselled regarding the difficult employment situation in Australia. Where an applicant needs assistance and is facing a situation of extreme hardship, he may be accorded an assisted passage.

3 Consideration has also been given to the position of Soviet Jews who have come to Europe after spending a period of time in Israel, is generally they seem to have placed themselves in a refugee type situation. It has therefore been decided that if a voluntary agency (or agencies) in Australia is/are prepared to sponsor a limited number of these people - up to a maximum of 10 in 1975/76 - that they may be considered for entry, not in accordance with our refugee policy, but on an assisted basis and subject to their acceptance as semi-skilled workers in areas of need. This last concession is designed to help those with Soviet qualifications not recognised in Australia.

4 Where any approach is made by a voluntary agency regarding the latter group you will need to ascertain the willingness of its counterpart in Australia to act as a sponsor unless this is known, if the case is otherwise acceptable.

5 The figures mentioned as limits in paragraphs 2 and 3 are not to be regarded as targets but as indicators of the maximum levels acceptable under each category. The policy outlined in this memorandum arises from an overall review of the position of Soviet Jews and its main objective is to enable posts to consider any cases which arise during the current financial year within the framework of this policy.

6 Where applicable, separate figures should be included in your monthly reports regarding the Soviet Jew direct from Russia and ex-Israel respectively and such persons also shown on form 1441b under category 31 or 32 as appropriate.

3
11 OCT 1968
for Secretary

DISTRIBUTION:

Chief Migration Officer
LONDON

Chief Migration Officer
ROME

Senior Migration Officer ✓
VIENNA

Senior Migration Officer
PARIS

Senior Migration Officer
CCLOGNE

Migration Officer
BERNE

Migration Officer
BRUSSELS

Schuster and Review Branch

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303

IMMIGRATION CANBERRA
730412
REPLY PLEASE QUOTE BP:PL

DEPARTMENT OF
LABOR AND IMMIGRATION
Unit 5, BARTON CANBERRA ACT. 2600

9 December 1974

CMO London
CMO Rome
SMO Vienna
2nd Secretary (Imma) Berne

Russian Jews

We have already informed you of the itinerary planned by Mr S.D. Einfeld representative of the Federation of Australian Jewish Welfare Societies for his forthcoming tour of Europe.

In recent discussions with the Department Mr Einfeld proposed that he would bring 200 families to Australia over a period of 12 months. These would comprise some of the Russian Jews already in European capitals, specifically Rome, and others expected to come out of the U.S.S.R. through 1975.

Mr Einfeld understands that because of employment circumstances in Australia it is necessary to impose a tight control over immigration and that the best we could accept would be 80 families with the understanding that the question would be reconsidered in mid-1975 to ascertain the number of additional families which could be absorbed up to the maximum of 200 proposed by him. It is understood that the average family size is about 3 persons so 80 families would represent approximately 240 persons. As the families are youngish with children and in some instances with aged parents the workforce element of the group should not be large.

On the question of assisted passages Mr Einfeld was informed that circumstances did not permit of this concession. However assisted passages would be considered in cases of extreme hardship but this should not exceed 5 families.

For those families who are eventually approved for entry the Jewish Welfare Societies in Australia will undertake all arrangements for travel, reception, accommodation and employment and other aspects of integration.

Mr Einfeld's objective in visiting Europe is to assess the likely level of movement from the U.S.S.R. in the next 12 months or 2 years and to ascertain if possible the number of those seeking resettlement in Australia. As you will be aware arrangements between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. provide that at least 60,000 Soviet Jews will be granted exit permits annually. Hence the outflow into Europe and other areas is likely to be a continuing one. However, Australia's commitment at the moment is for 80 families only.



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F. 4646/2/5

302

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY

VIENNA

8/2/1

File No. 2/5/1

Memo No. 539

15 July 1976

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

EMIGRATION OF FORMER SOVIET CITIZENS OF JEWISH ORIGIN

(Your file 1965/2/3/46)

Further to our memorandum 537 of 14 July 1976, of the twenty-five visas issued hitherto, five have been to persons coming direct from the USSR (issued in November 1975, and on account of the fact that one of that five-member party required hospitalisation on arrival and therefore remained for some time in Vienna). The other twenty visas have been issued to persons who have returned to Vienna from Israel.

2. We understand from the Canadians, and from a HIAS contact, that there has been some relaxation on the part of the Austrian authorities as to the length of stay being allowed the refugees on first arrival in Vienna. You will recall the arrangement, instituted after the enforced closure of Schönau in 1973, was strictly limited to transit facilities. A more relaxed interpretation of "transit" than initially applied seems now to operate. There could be political and security implications for Vienna if this situation were to become general knowledge, bearing in mind the 1973 circumstances.

3. Knowledge of the new meaning of "transit" appears to have been communicated on the grapevine to refugees in the Soviet Union, so that a comparative trickle is now finding its way towards the Canadian migration office here. There is also some, but much less, interest in Australia. The Canadians here say they are very favourably impressed by the calibre of the persons concerned.

4. Both ourselves and the Canadians of course have had more dealings with returnees from Israel.

5. We understand the program initiated by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs in October last year applied only for the financial year 1975/76. The SLO has recommended that it be continued on the same basis in 1976/77, but a decision seems not yet to have been made. You may wish to seek further clarification from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs.


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2.

301

We note that Immigration is treating this subject
on an unclassified basis (see telegram O.CH380565).


(D.A. Townsend)
Counsellor

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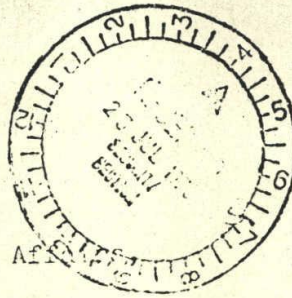
300

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
VIENNA

File No. 8/2/1, 2/5/1
Memo No. 537

14 July 1976

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs
CANBERRA



EMIGRATION OF FORMER SOVIET CITIZENS
OF JEWISH ORIGIN

(Your file: 1965/2/3/46)

Further to our memorandum 947 of 17 December 1975, and in the event you have not been advised by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, you may wish to know that this post has issued twenty-five visas to the above persons in the period 1 November 1975 to 30 June 1976. Other cases are being processed at present.

2. You will be aware that this action follows a decision by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs in October 1975 to admit the above persons to Australia. They include both those who have come direct from the USSR and are regarded as refugees subject to the usual refugee criteria and those returned from Israel who are subject to slightly different entry requirements. Full details are contained in Immigration memorandum 74/95395 of 21 October 1975, a copy of which you should be able to obtain from that Department.

D.A. Townsend
(D.A. Townsend)
Charge d'Affaires

Def. = 24/11 tass 6-57 =
another anti-soviet +sensation+
commentary 1 (one) two takes
moscow november 24 tass tass commentator boris
ruikovich writes:

some western journalists accredited in moscow became
eager to treat their readers to another world-shaking
+piece of news from russia+. they have learned, don't
you see, new +sensational facts+ about soviet
authorities +infringing+ the rights of jewish citizens, from
among those who, for security reasons were denied permits
to emigrate and take up permanent residence in israel...
they are, again, the selfsame fain, prestin, essas, and the like.
what, after all, prompted this, pardon me, +sensation+? it was all
sparked off by the fact that the procurator's
office of the city of moscow, on the grounds

of the criminal proceedings now opened, and acting
in perfect conformity with the soviet criminal code,
has carried out searches in the apartments of
several persons involved in the case.
/ more /

= 24/11 tass 6-57 =
commentary 2 (two)

all these persons, by the way, had been duly
cautioned about the inadmissibility of the illegal activiti-
es they pursued. the nature of the materials found during
the searches indicate that most of them were inspired by
zionist centres abroad, which for long, though in vain, are
trying to fire up national strife in the soviet country.

this, in essence, is the crux of the matter. any
attempts to depict absolutely legitimate actions by the autho-
rities as +arbitrariness+, are nothing but deliberate lies.

this is not rpt not the first time that those who fall for
all kinds of anti-soviet sensations have resorted to such
falsehoods. and every time they found themselves
in the mire.

item ends +++++++

X
Dra.
= 29/11 tass 5-16 =

club 1 (one) youth club in birobijan
two takes

birobijan november 29 tass the yiddish-
language newspaper +birobijanen stern+, that comes out in the
administrative centre of the jewish autonomous region, report-
ed on the opening of a +youth cafe+ on sholom aleihem
street in birobijan. the cafe will be an assembly place
for the members of a new youth club.

students and young workers came to the cafe on the night
it opened. club president, the 26-year-old historian david
weiserman said that a council of representatives of youth
organizations set out to make the recreation of the boys and

298

147

146
297

-18-

girls in birobijan even more interesting than before.
the club members decided to hold meetings every friday. they
have even called their club by this day of the week.
they are thinking of holding debates on political, economic,
cultural and scientific questions as well as on youth movement
problems. scientists, writers, musicians and artists will be
invited.
/more/

= 29/11 tass 5-16 =
club 2 (two)

the first evening was decidedly a success. the members
of the +friday+ club met representatives of the older genera-
tion, who came to build birobijan at the beginning of the 30s.
poems were read about birobijan and folk songs
were sung in the cafe. the young people danced a lot. presi-
dent david weiserman was unanimously judged to be the best
performer of the jewish dances +shert+ (scissors) and +freilacs+
(merry dance).

item ends+++++

National Archives of Australia

NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

145
296

-13-

= 26/11 tass 4-7 =

recession, economic difficulties lead 1 (one)
tokyo november 26 tass the company +tokyo valve+ has announced its insolvency, with debts being 32,000 million yen. this is the biggest bankruptcy of the year in japan. the number of bankruptcies in november is expected here to exceed the record high level of the past month, when the figure was 1489. more than 1,000 firms go bankrupt every month for 14 consecutive months. this is another testimony that japan's economy is still hit by a protracted recession.

the japanese ministry of transport has taken a decision making it incumbent upon 40 biggest ship-building companies to reduce by 28 per cent ship construction next year and in 1978 by 35 per cent as against 1973-1975. the decision was necessitated by a deep depression in the japanese ship-building industry and a drop in the international demand for tankers.

/ more /

= 26/11 tass 4-7 =

recession, economic difficulties lead 2 (two)
brussels november 26 tass the crisis in the textile industry of west european countries entails closure of enterprises and lay-offs. according to the belgian newspaper +soir+, more than 400,000 textile industry workers and employees in west european countries lost their jobs in 1971-1975.

brazilia november 26 tass another devaluation of brazil's national monetary unit, cruzeiro has been announced here. this time the cruzeiro depreciated by more than 1.9 per cent against the dollar. since the beginning of this year the brazilian currency depreciated by 32.8 per cent.
item ends +++++

De G. 26
X
= 26/11 tass 5-7 =

jewish theatre of birobidjan
theatre 1 (one) three takes
birobidjan november 26 tass tass correspondent mikhail khanukh writes:

the play +tevie, the milkman+ by sholom aleichem was included in the repertory of the jewish folk theatre in birobidjan. there is consensus among art critics that berta shilman, the theatre's stage director, found a new way of presentation of this unfading work by the classic of jewish literature.

+our troupe, said berta shilman, a learner from the famous regisseur solomon mikhoels, also turns to the works of contemporary playwrights writing in yiddish. berl miller's play +miracles never happen+ was a great success at the stages of the jewing autonomous region in the soviet far east. one can also see the names of noted dramatists aron goldfaden and moisei gershenzon on play-bills. but sholom aleichem hold the leading place on the repertory of the theatrical company. it is to him that we owe our popularity with the spectators.++

/ more /

144
295

-14-

= 26/11 tass 5-7 =
theatre 2 (two)

+congratulations+ by sholom aleichem was the first play which inaugurated the theatre's biography eleven years ago. a performance after his play +a big win+ (+200,000+) also proved an artistic triumph of the theatre.

+when the name of sholom aleichem appears on a play-bill, we have no rpt no doubt that full house is secured, the creative activity of this remarkable connoisseur of jewish folk life is close and understandable to engineer, fitter, physician, builder, teacher, or peasant alike +, berta shilman pointed out.

the troupe presents plays at the stages of the clubs of the birobidjan farm machinery manufacturing plant and in the house of culture of waldgeim village, in the theatres of khabarovsk and vladivostok.
/ more / (/)

= 26/11 tass 5-7 =
theatre 3 (three)

the stage director of the company which has been awarded the title of laureate of the all-union festival of amateur theatrical companies explains the popularity of the theatre also by the fact that the performances are splendidly designed musically, songs, and choreographic scenes are performed to the accompaniment of the birobidjan violin ensemble conducted by solomon grossman.

the jewish folk theatre troupe brings together people of various occupations and age, the epshteins, max and khaya, and betya gershkova have been with the theatre ever since it was founded. izya tsiperman, an electrician, valentina gershkovich, a teacher, boris zilberman, a fitter, joined the theatre recently, for all the thirty amateur actors, the theatre became an artistic school.
item ends +++++

= 6/12 tass 5-48 =

slanderer will not rpt not be allowed to enter the ussr
slanderer 1 (one) three takes

moscow december 6 tass tass commentator boris ruikovich
sites:

the number of tourists visiting the soviet union
increases from year to year. Last year alone, almost
3,700,000 tourists from different countries visited
our country. an overwhelming majority of them come to the
soviet union in order to learn more about this country
and about the soviet way of life. but among them are
sometimes +tourists+ of a different kind....

one such tourist was a certain peter calmes, a british
subject, when he came recently to the soviet union
among other tourists peter calmes, unlike other
visitors, did not rpt not show any interest in the
soviet union or the life of its people. instead,
this gentleman, who turned out later to be the leader
of the london branch of the israeli zionist organisation
+shamir+, using a tourist passport as a cover, scoured
about the city from morning to night, collecting false
information about the soviet union and trying to find persons
who would tell him new lies about alleged +infringement
of the rights of soviet jews+.
/more/

143

294

142
293

- 58 -

= 6/12 tass 5-48 =

slanderer 2 (two)

the question which interested him most of all was why there are less and less persons of jewish nationality who are willing to leave the soviet union for israel and why those who leave the ussr go, more often than not, to other countries and not rpt not to israel. peter calmes was going to use all this +information+ to prepare slanderous materials about the soviet union in order to show that the helsinki accords are allegedly violated in the soviet union.

when peter calmes was leaving the ussr, customs officers discovered and confiscated from him a whole heap of materials casting aspersions on the ussr and its people. peter calmes himself admitted that he belonged to a zionist organisation and that his +tourist+ trip was undertaken specially to try and collect tendentious slanderous information about the soviet union. the slanderer was told that from now on the soviet union would be closed to him.
/more/

= 6/12 tass 5-48 =

slanderer 3 (three)

this fact shows once more that someone in the west, specifically in britain, where certain circles have been conducting lately an intensive anti-soviet campaign, would like to use tourist trade for purposes which have nothing in common with tourism. zionist centres, including those in london, can hardly be expected, of course, to discontinue their subversion against the soviet union after the failure of +calmes' mission+. but let messrs zionists know that all provocative actions they may decide to undertake in the future will be cut short. item ends ++++++

= 6/12 tass 5-9 =

face to face with zionism
letters 1 (one) three takes
minsk december 6 tass tass correspondent pyotr
being reports:

on september 18, 1976, maria davydovich, a resident of
minsk, with her daughter and grandson left for israel,
she also carried away with her a coffin with the body of
her deceased husband. presently her relatives in
byelorussia received the first letter from her, +it is
already twelve days since we left our native country,
maria davydovich wrote, an unusual climate, living on
credit, and agonizing thoughts of whether we shall
manage to adapt ourselves. this is true indeed: one does not
value what one has until one goes to another country.
we are living an abnormal life now.

as is seen, the realization came immediately after the arrival
in israel, and what was before that? as the republican
newspaper +sovetskaya belorussia+ relates in an article
headlined +letters from 'paradise', or face-to-face with
zionist reality+, the emigrant's husband was a serviceman,
then a pensioner, and was materially secure, and lived with
his family in minsk. it is now difficult to say what drew
yefim davydovich to the 'promised land' but his intentions
soon became known to zionists abroad. / more /

141
292

140
291

-21-

= 6/12 tass 5-9 =
Letters 2 (two)

pensioner davydovich was suffering from a serious heart disease, the fourth infarction proved fatal to him, he died in april this year, and that occurred at the very moment when zionist emissaries from the usa were in his flat, foreign visitors, who under the guise of tourists systematically called on davydovich, incited him in every way to anti-soviet slanderous statements as to +infringement on human rights+ or +lack of personal freedom+. the last time the +tourists+ had a too strong influence on davydovich and worked up the nerves of the sick man, +after our talk, he felt unwell and died shortly, Leon djik told an intourist representative, i do not rpt not rule out that our visit was a contributory cause of his death+. +after the husband's death, maria davydovich did not rpt not intend to go to israel; the newspaper +sovetskaya belorussia+ writes, but her pro-zionist 'friends', lev ovsishcher and his accomplices tried to raise a provocative uproar round the funeral of davydovich, and told the grief-stricken women and the daughter over and over again that they should go to israel. maria davydovich left the soviet union+. / more /

= 6/12 tass 5-9 =
Letters 3 (three)

who is then lev ovsishcher? a zionist recruiter, a regular visitor to the synagogue though he is not rpt not a devout person at all, he visits the synagogue as a convenient place to talk to credulous persons and persuade them into leaving for israel, zionist inviters from tel aviv who practise deceiving people assign a special role to such people as lev ovsishchev, who try their best not rpt not so much because of 'ideological considerations' as mainly for lavish parcels from israel.

Let us go back to Letters by maria davydovich, on october 7 she wrote: +do everything possible for us to be pardoned for our grave error, we cannot live in lies which we created ourselves+. and four days later : +i write one and the same thing in each letter, i want to return home...+

the emigrant is asking a permission to return home, her request will be considered by soviet power bodies, mention should be made however, that one's native country is not rpt not a flat which one can exchange for an equal one in another area. item ends +++++

- 57 -

is planned, specifically, to step up the work of the trade union centres, that are members of the wftu, to hold an all-asia trade union conference, to strengthen solidarity in the joint struggle against the intrigues of the imperialist forces, for liquidation of u.s. military bases in asia, for national independence, peace and security in asia and all over the world, for social progress. it is planned to step up the struggle against the sway of multinational corporations, to hold regional seminars, conferences and meetings on important problems of asian trade unions and the working class movement. the recommendations worked out at the delhi meeting will form the foundation of the action programme of the wftu on the asian continent. item ends +++++

= 2/12 tass 68 =

belgrade december 2 tass president tito of yugoslavia received here today the chairman of the eec ministerial council m. van der stoel.

it is officially reported that they discussed questions of yugoslavia's cooperation with the european economic community and general questions of the economic situation in europe and in the world. item ends +++++

= 2/12 tass 5-30 =

tears in the +promised+ land

article 1 (one) two takes

minsk december 2 tass +we are now living in a foreign country (austria) without citizenship, without passport, without medical aid, without any human rights. employment is not rpt not given at such an age-- 66, and we live with the money my wife, an office cleaner, gets. we regret that we left the motherland. we are tired out, we are at the end of our tether+.

these lines from the letters lev kaplan and broha kaplan sent to their children, living in minsk and in vilnius, are cited today in an article by the byelorussian newspaper +chyrvonaya zmena+.

having yielded to zionist propaganda four years ago, the kaplans, husband and wife, left for israel, where, they write, they found themselves without means of subsistence, without shelter, without employment. seven months later they left israel with great difficulty.

/ more /

= 2/12 tass 5-30 =

article 2 (two)

and again, zionists, american this time, did everything to prevent the kaplans from returning home. attempts were made to kill them in munich, an attempt was made to stab lev kaplan in the back in vienna, broha kaplan's hand was cut so that she could lose her fingers.

+such is the zionists' morale. this is how in practice zionists of all hues +care+ for the destiny of soviet jews+, the newspaper writes in its article, "tears in the promised land".

138 ~~9~~

F. 201.5.

289

Russia Asserts West Interferes Over Emigration

MOSCOW, Nov. 9 (AP).—The Soviet Union issued a sharply worded defense today of its policy on emigration and asserted that Western calls for the release of some of its citizens constitute "interference in the internal affairs of the U.S.S.R."

An unsigned "statement" transmitted by the Tass news agency said the Soviet Union "completely and attentively" studies all requests by citizens to leave the country for reunion with relatives abroad.

"Refusals [of exit visas] occur in an insignificant number of cases when the citizen announcing a desire to leave the U.S.S.R. had access in the course of his duties to work or information representing a state secret," the declaration said.

Asserting that each state has an inalienable right to protect its secrets, the statement said: "Regardless of whether somebody likes or dislikes it, any attempt at pressuring competent Soviet organizations into changing their position is viewed as interference in the domestic affairs of the U.S.S.R."

The statement followed sit-down strikes at government institutions last month by a group of Moscow Jews who have been denied exit permits on the grounds that they know state secrets.

INT HERALD TRIB

10 NOV 1976.

137

F. 201.5.

288

INT. HERALD TRIBUNE

11 NOV 1976

Moscow's Anti-Zionism Campaign

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

WASHINGTON.—Escalation of the internal Soviet campaign against "world Zionism" and its "agent," the state of Israel, has reached a new peak which for the first time since the infamous "doctors' plot" of 1952 is posing this grave question: Is a great anti-Jewish purge in the Soviet Union now a serious possibility?

No answer is possible at this time. But the shrillness of the campaign, now becoming known in the West through intelligence transmitted secretly by Jewish activists, has deeply alarmed serious U.S. students of historic anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. At the very least, it is aimed at stalling U.S. peace efforts in the Arab-Israeli confrontation.

Sen. Jacob Javits, R., N.Y., a leading U.S. guardian of the interests of Soviet Jews, was so distraught by the formalized new Soviet onslaught against Zionism that last September he wrote a confidential letter to the Soviet ambassador here, Anatoly Dobrynin. Javits asked Dobrynin this question: Does the anti-Zionist campaign have the full backing of the Soviet state, as it would appear, or could it partly be unsanctioned harangues from anti-Semitic extremists?

Javits had heard nothing from Dobrynin or the Soviet Embassy as of early this week and quite likely never will. So, the senator has asked the State Department's help in investigating whether the

lethal new attack does or does not have official sanction of the Kremlin.

The answer would overwhelmingly appear to be in the affirmative. For one thing, the official state newspapers—Pravda and Izvestia—have been preaching fearsome anti-Zionism for years. Following the first Brussels Conference on Soviet Jewry in 1971, Pravda labeled Zionism "an enemy of the people"—a phrase echoing the great purge of the 1930s. After a brief respite, the new, more virulent anti-Zionist campaign was triggered by the second Brussels conference.

This new state-supported campaign is manifested by an official Communist party lecturer named Valery Yemelyanov, a candidate of economic sciences and a professor in the prestigious Institute of Foreign Languages. What makes Yemelyanov's anti-Zionist campaign so insidious is that its harshest rhetoric came in a Moscow interview with a newspaper closely connected to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Yemelyanov delivered opinions that must have startled even anti-Israel PLO activists who are trying to establish a mini-state of their own on the Israeli-occupied West Bank. "World Zionism has become a great power in the world," he said, elaborating as follows in a breathtaking spiral of charges:

Propaganda

Eighty per cent of the economy of non-Communist nations is concentrated in the hands of "Zionist capitalists"; 85 per cent of the propaganda efforts undertaken in the capitalist world are concentrated in the hands of the Zionists, 99 per cent in the United States.

In words reminiscent of the notorious "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," Yemelyanov told his PLO interviewers that the world Zionist organization "works in a strictly secret framework" which includes "all the presidents and

parliaments" of the developed capitalist countries. "The only way to fight this 'world' Zionist movement is to establish a world counter-movement which the Arabs themselves should lead 'because they are the prime objective of the Zionist movement and the leaders of the world struggle against one of its agents—the state of Israel.'"

Such nonsense would not be worth a second glance were it not for the likelihood—voiced in Javits's letter to Dobrynin—that behind it is the weight of the Soviet state and its multiple propaganda apparatus.

Yemelyanov's appeal directly to militant PLO members is obviously designed to thwart U.S. efforts to find a political solution to the Arab-Israeli wars. As such, it plays on the primitive anti-Israeli passions of the Arabs (deeply felt by all Palestinians) in a way calculated to arouse them to highest pitch.

Attacks Parley

Yemelyanov attacked the second Brussels Conference on Soviet Jewry, calling it "anti-Semitic." That was true, he said, because Zionists in the Soviet Union conduct anti-Semitic "terrorism" in order to frighten Jews into leaving the Soviet Union and going "to Palestine (Israel)... and there drive out the Palestinians."

If Palestinian nationalists need more anti-Israeli fervor, that is the way to provide it, at the same time spicing the hate of Zionism and Israel with hate for the United States and the West.

An explanation may lie in the modest successes of U.S. diplomacy in cooling down the Middle East since the 1973 October war. If so, Moscow is once again playing with a fire that could consume not only Israel but the true and understandable national aspirations of the Palestinians; it is doing so by keeping the Middle East in a continuing state of rising tension or semipermanent war.

Jews Living in Hungary Find A Secure Oasis in East Bloc

By Michael Getler

BUDAPEST (WP).—In the back rooms of a dilapidated tenement here, Rabbi Alexander Scheiber presides over the only rabbinical seminary left in all of Eastern Europe, once a thriving center of world Jewry.

The elderly rabbi has 15 students—12 Hungarians and 3 Russians—who study in the ramshackle suite of rooms just a few blocks from the slightly run-down 100-year-old Central Synagogue, the largest in the world.

Within the Communist bloc, such Jewish places of worship are fast becoming relics.

The fact that the Hungarian government allows this training school for rabbis to continue operating tends to confirm that this country's remaining Jewish population—nearly 100,000—is one of the few relatively secure pockets of Judaism in the region.

Ironically, the Hungarian government feels it is being discriminated against by a controversial U.S. trade law with portions drafted primarily to force the Soviet Union to allow freer emigration, especially for Jews.

Throughout Eastern Europe, Hungary is widely viewed as the most liberal state, and its Communist party chief of 20 years, Janos Kadar, is credited by both Hungarians and Western diplomats with consistently rejecting pressures to remove Jews from many of the high positions they hold within the government and in the country's cultural life.

Mr. Kadar's success with his own brand of liberalism while living under Moscow's domain also demands that he maintain strict foreign policy loyalty to the

Kremlin. Thus, Mr. Kadar, like Moscow, rejects the terms of the Jackson-Vanik Trade Act of 1974 as an interference in internal affairs. Hungary, therefore, still does not have most-favored-nation trade status with the United States and the lower tariffs that go with such status.

Other Communist countries, such as Poland, which now has only a small Jewish minority, and where anti-Semitism is considered much more common, were granted most-favored-nation status long before the new law. Yugoslavia, Communist but independent of Moscow, also has it.

The only Communist country to accept the terms of the Jackson-Vanik law since it was passed is Romania, and the irony here, in the view of U.S. diplomats, is that Romania also has strong currents of anti-Semitism and was planning to let some Jews emigrate even before the law was passed.

"The law is an insult," said a Hungarian official. "Imagine Brezhnev telling Washington they must do such and such for the Negroes or they won't sign a certain agreement."

"What is better," another asks, "that you treat your Jewish population well and are forced to send them to Israel or that you don't treat them well and allow them to emigrate?"

Foreign diplomats in Eastern Europe and many non-Jewish intellectuals here and in neighboring countries all say there are strains of anti-Semitism throughout Central and Eastern Europe. In Hungary, one said, "it is more primitive than wicked and not as bad as elsewhere."

Hungary had almost a million Jews before World War II. About 90,000 of those that are left live in Budapest, probably the largest single community in the region.

Rabbi Scheiber is a cautious man. He wants to talk only about the seminary and not anti-Semitism. "All professions are open to us here," he said. "Anti-Semitism is forbidden by law. We cannot see into people's hearts, but there is no sign of it outside."

The emigration law is one of two religious matters that continue to indirectly irritate unofficial U.S.-Hungarian relations at a time when official relations between the two countries are improving.

In churches, as well as in the Foreign Ministry here, there is lingering bitterness over the unwillingness of the United States to return the crown jewels of St. Stephen, Hungary's patron saint.

Legend has it that these ancient relics—a crown, scepter, orb and robe—were given to King Stephen almost 1,000 years ago by the Pope in gratitude for the king's conversion of his country to Christianity. They fell into U.S. hands after World War II.

INT. HERALD TRIBUNE

48 NOV 1976



201.4.2

CONFIDENTIAL

File No. 862/1/6

135
286**DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

Record of Conversation with Mr A. Lopez, First Secretary, Embassy of Israel
on 12 October 1976

Officers Present Mr M.J. Dan, Assistant Secretary, International Organisations Branch
Mr G.K. Miller, Head, UN Social & Technical Section
Miss S.M. Thomson, UN Social & Technical Section

MAIN SUBJECTS (S):UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE: JEWIS IN USSR AND SYRIA

Mr Lopez raised the problem of the politicisation of UN agencies, particularly UNESCO with regard to its forthcoming General Conference in Nairobi. It was feared that the Arabs would continue their political warfare by raising again matters which had been discussed and been the subject of resolutions at the 1974 General Conference. The Arabs were talking about sanctions against Israel for not obeying politically motivated resolutions. Since 1968 Israel had co-operated with UNESCO.

UNESCO Resolution 18C/13.1 (Item 70 on draft Agenda: 19C/73)

2. Mr Lopez noted that operative paragraph 1 of this resolution, calling on the Director-General of UNESCO to exercise full supervision of the operation of educational and cultural institutions in the occupied territories, was contrary to international law. He said that Israel had found other ways to co-operate with the Director-General.

3. Israel was in principle ready to accept a delegation from UNESCO to inspect educational and cultural institutions. The Jewish holidays in September/October and the UNESCO General Conference in October/November would make it inconvenient for a delegation to visit in the next couple of months. The delegation could, however, visit in January next year and Israel would welcome a preparatory visit now by a representative of the Director-General.

Archaeological Excavations in Jerusalem (Resolution 18C/3.427 - Agenda Item 77)

4. Mr Lopez said that the Israelis had taken great care in carrying out the excavations, and respected all

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Report prepared by S.M. Thomson

(S.M. Thomson)

ACTION:**CONFIDENTIAL**

S.M. Thomson

periods and cultures of Jerusalem's history. The reports by Professor Lemaire, the Director-General's representative, who has visited Jerusalem several times, had never justified the criticisms that had been made. The report of Professor Lemaire's latest visit in May 1976 had not yet been seen by the Israeli Government.

The Equation of Zionism with Racism

5. Mr Lopez recalled the opposition shown by the Western countries on this matter.

Regional Groups (Resolution 18C/46.1 : 19C/47)

6. Mr Lopez said that despite the Director-General's argument that Israel was not excluded from UNESCO by virtue of not being included in a region, Israel was unable to participate in UNESCO programmes.

7. Mr Lopez recalled the Executive Board's recommendation to the conference that the regions themselves should decide whether particular countries are to be admitted to the region. He expressed the hope that if the European region agrees to admit Israel Australia will vote positively.

8. Mr Dan said that Australia would consider the matter on the basis of developments. We were looking at the question very carefully.

9. Mr Lopez said he believed all UN members should work towards a return to the original objectives of UN agencies. Mr Dan said this was Australia's position.

10. Mr Miller said that we would be interested in information on the Director-General's response to the invitation for a preparatory visit by a representative of the Director-General to inspect educational institutions in the occupied territories before the Conference, because an invitation to the main delegation to visit after the Conference might by itself have negative effects.

Jews in USSR and Syria

.... 11. Mr Lopez handed over statements on the situation of Jews in the USSR and in Syria (copies attached) and expressed the hope that Australia would take note of them, in case the subject is brought to the attention of UNGA or the Commission on Human Rights. He added that Israel's intention was not to get the Syrian Jews to Israel specifically, but to obtain their freedom to go wherever they wished. There was continuing discrimination against Jews in the USSR.

12. Mr Dan said that copies of the statement would be forwarded to other interested sections of the Department.

CONFIDENTIAL

The situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union has remained unchanged during the past year. The most serious problem facing large numbers of Soviet Jews continues to be the denial of free exit from the USSR and the continued harassment of those requesting exit permits to Israel. In 1973, 35,000 exit permits were granted Jews who had applied to emigrate to Israel; in 1974 - 20,000; in 1975 - 13,000 and, based on the monthly average to date this year, 11,000 will be granted permits in 1976. More than half of those who receive affidavits from relatives in Israel to qualify as emigrants for reasons of family reunification, are denied exit permits by the Soviet authorities to this day.

Heavy pressure is still exerted on Jews to deter them from applying for exit permits. This pressure, which is part of a deliberate campaign by the authorities, takes the form of incitement in newspapers against those who apply for exit permits, isolation of Jewish activists, confiscation of Hebrew instruction books and information on Israel, dismissal from work or reduction in rank and salary of applicants, withholding of pensions from army veterans, disconnection of telephones and seizure of mail - including affidavits sent by relatives in Israel - expulsion of students from universities and deliberate conscription of youths into the army in order to prevent entire families from applying for exit permits.

The condition of Jewish prisoners arrested because of their desire to emigrate to Israel is extremely serious and the anti-Semitic harassment of many of them by the authorities and by their fellow prisoners has become unbearable. In a number of instances, Jews who sought to emigrate were tried on criminal rather than on political charges, in order to deter others from seeking to emigrate and, at the same time, to conceal from world public opinion the real reason for the arrest and trial.

/2.

The Jewish intellectuals are in particularly dire straits. Many have been dismissed from universities and research institutes after they applied to emigrate and for an extended period of time have been forcibly unemployed. In addition to their material hardships, the authorities attempt to bring about their spiritual degeneration and to ostracize them professionally. Attempts at self-rehabilitation, by the holding of scientific seminars and the publication of periodicals on the problems of the Jewish minority in the USSR such as Jews in the USSR, are met with harsh reactions from the authorities, including harassment by the police and threats of arrest and imprisonment against those taking part in scientific and cultural activities of this nature.

The anti-Semitic campaign in the Soviet communications media continues as in the past. Masked as anti-Zionist or anti-religious commentary, libellous documents are circulated against the Jewish people and its spiritual heritage - material which is essentially no different from that published in the dark Czarist era by the ideological generators of the notorious pogroms. Recently a series of public lectures, primarily students, by Professor Emelyanov, who works for the official institute for the dissemination of information, Znanie, became known. His lectures contain wild accusations against the Jewish people and its national, religious and historical legacy, similar to the ravings of Goebbels and other Nazis.

Short-wave broadcasts directed to Soviet Jews, including those dealing with instruction in the Hebrew language, with the history of the Jewish people, with Yiddish and Hebrew literature, are regularly jammed, in complete disregard of international law concerning telecommunications and in defiance of international conventions to which the Government of the USSR is a party.

The Israel delegation will call upon the General Assembly of the United Nations to take immediate action on this difficult problem.

/3.

Member-States are urged vigorously to demand that the Government of the USSR remove all obstacles from the path of Soviet Jews seeking to leave that country, in accordance with the basic rights of every individual as laid out by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and by other international conventions of the United Nations.

Similarly, the Israel delegation will call upon the member-States of the United Nations to demand the immediate release of all prisoners whose sole "crime" is their desire to live in Israel, and to enable them to reach their longed-for destination.

The anti-Semitic incitement in the USSR, the ban on conveying the religious and national legacy of the Jewish people to the next generation and attacks on this legacy, denial of the freedom of communication between Soviet Jews and their brothers elsewhere in the world, the efforts to isolate them and the placing of terrible obstacles in the path of the return of Soviet Jews to their historic homeland, are all in contradiction of the content and the spirit of the Helsinki accord, and must be terminated forthwith.

An improvement has recently been discerned in the condition of the Syrian Jewish community, which today numbers 5,000 souls. Until the end of 1974, this community suffered from acts of violence, arbitrary arrests, torture and even murder which, over the years, aroused world public opinion. Since then, there appears to have been a change for the better; in part this has been a genuine improvement. There are two reasons for this. The first is the intensive and unwavering pressure by influential circles in the international community and the consequent extensive diplomatic action. The second is based on internal Syrian interests, largely due to the extreme sensitivity of President Assad to the image of his regime in the West.

The Syrian Government has recently allowed several Jews to purchase cars, to install telephones and to send their children to university (apparently under the strict application of numerus clausus). For the past few months the Jews of Haleb have not been compelled to present themselves at the local synagogue for a weekly count by the police. It is hoped that this practice has been discontinued permanently.

In order to receive a permit to travel outside Syria, Jews are compelled to deposit twenty thousand Syrian pounds (approximately six thousand US dollars) with the authorities. This deposit, along with relatives who are obliged to remain in Syria, serve as surety for the individual's return.

Authorization for travel within Syria is sometimes granted, but is limited and controlled. Jews are required to obtain special permits, to register on arrival with the local police, who frequently dictate at which hotel they must reside, to report to the police daily and to obtain authorization for the return journey.

/2.

Various Syrian spokesmen, including President Assad himself, have expressed their intention of considering cancellation of the required imprint "Mussawi" (of the Mosaic faith) on the identity cards of Jews. A Jew was recently brought before a representative of American television in Damascus by the authorities, to show that the word "Mussawi" had been erased from his identity card. This incident, however, was staged merely for publicity and appeasement: the requirement remains in force.

Non-movable goods have been sequestered by the authorities. Jewish property owners are required to pay for the use of their own homes, or for the use of any other of their property, and when they die, their heirs are obliged to repurchase the ownership (which remains nonetheless limited) of their legal inheritance. If they lack the means to do so, the property is confiscated and transferred to Government ownership.

There is a disproportionately large number of unmarried young women in the Jewish community, approximately 400, since among those who succeeded in escaping from Syria in the past were many young men and, among those remaining, many do not want to marry and raise families under the prevailing conditions.

Relative calm is maintained as a result of the activities of the "Second Office" (military intelligence) and the police, two security forces which maintain strict control over every Jew. The Jews, like the Christians in Syria, know that this calm rests on "thin ice."

The history of the Syrian regime since the revolution in 1949 shows how dependent it has been on restricting the affluence of the Jewish community and other minority groups in Syria. The atmosphere in Syria, as in the neighbouring Arab States, is not conducive to tolerance towards minorities, particularly towards a non-Arab minority like the Jews.

/3.

The status of Syrian Jewry is that of a "hostage community." The occasional relief, such as the suspension of violent attacks, encourages one to think that public pressure and diplomatic intervention have begun to influence President Assad. But these are merely tactics aimed at appeasing international public opinion.

Enlightened Governments should give expression to their concern over the tragic conditions under which Syrian Jewry is being held. Since Egypt and Iraq have permitted their Jewish communities to emigrate Syria remains the only Arab State which continues to hold the remnants of its Jewish community as hostages. International efforts to secure basic human rights to Syrian Jews and, above all, the elementary right of emigration, must not be relaxed.

CONFIDENTIAL

278

201.4.2

1049

2 November 1976

The Secretary
Department of Foreign Affairs
CANBERRA

JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION

This memorandum reports on two recent events of importance to the Jewish Community and the Human Rights movement in the USSR.

Jewish New Year

2. Accompanied by Mr V.R. Rodda, Vice Consul at the Australian Embassy in Bonn who is in Moscow on secondment I visited the Jewish Synagogue in Moscow on Sunday 26 September on the occasion of Jewish New Year which was celebrated by the Jewish community in Moscow over the weekend 25-26 September.

3. The main Synagogue in Moscow is in Ulitsa Arkhipova, not far from the Kremlin. On this occasion the authorities had blocked off the street to traffic by the simple expedient of placing a no-entry sign, reinforced by three burly militiamen, at both ends of it. This enabled the quite large crowd outside the Synagogue to spill over onto the street itself, under the apparently disinterested gaze of a further two or three militiamen who stood around and made no attempt to interfere with the proceedings. So far as we could tell, worshippers were not subjected to any harassment whatsoever. This apparent cooperation with the Jewish community on the part of the Soviet authorities was in contrast with the previous year, when no attempt was made to control the traffic and as a result there were several instances of near collisions between pedestrians and traffic. There have been reports that the authorities in Kiev and Leningrad adopted a similarly helpful approach to the celebrations of Jewish New Year.

4. The Synagogue is important for the Moscow Jewish community for two reasons:

- (i) it is a centre of worship;
- (ii) it is also a convenient meeting place for Jewish dissidents, very few of whom apparently have telephones in their homes (which would in any case almost certainly be bugged).

CONFIDENTIAL ...2/

Inside, the Synagogue was obviously well cared for and richly decorated. The Rabbis, who were mainly middle aged to elderly preferred to speak Yiddish rather than Russian and Mr Rodda's knowledge of German was invaluable in this respect. We were made welcome and given a prayerbook, written in both Hebrew and Russian, with which to follow the service. Noticing that the Russian script was pre-Revolutionary we found that our particular copy had been printed in 1903. On checking several others we could find none which had been printed after 1910 and indeed it is probable that none have been printed in the USSR since the Revolution. This particular aspect of policy on the part of the authorities seems to be at variance with that adopted towards the Eastern Orthodox church where printing of bibles apparently takes place (although in what quantities we are not sure). In this respect you may have seen remarks made by the Rev. Alan Nicholls, director of information of the Anglican diocese of Sydney, in the Canberra Times of 11 September in which he said that during a recent trip to Eastern Europe he had seen copies of the New Testament in Russian in preparation on government presses and that he had been told that some 50,000 copies would be printed. In this regard we ourselves have seen newly printed copies of the New Testament in Russian.

Sit-In in the Supreme Soviet

6. You may have seen media reports to the effect that some Jewish dissidents recently staged a sit-in in the Supreme Soviet buildings and were subsequently arrested. The following sets out the story as far as we have been able to piece it together from sources in Moscow.

7. On Monday 18 October a group of 20 to 30 "otkazniki" (literally "refuseniks") a term coined by Soviet Jews who have applied for and been denied exit visas to describe themselves, had staged a sit-in in the reception rooms of the Supreme Soviet building in Moscow, ostensibly to ask for some indication when their request for an exit visa to leave the Soviet Union was likely to be granted. They stayed there all day and at the close of business were bundled into a bus by men wearing the red armbands of the volunteer auxiliary police and taken to the outskirts of Moscow, where they were left to make their own way back.

8. The same process was repeated the next day although this time they were apparently taken some 70-80 km from Moscow and forcibly ejected from the bus. They were then kicked and punched by the "policemen", some of whom were allegedly drunk. (According to one version of the story some of the assailants became carried away and instead of confining their blows to the dissidents' bodies, started hitting them about the head. When one of them, less inebriated than his colleagues, urged caution, he was himself set upon). The dissidents then made their way back to Moscow by train and called a press conference which was attended by four correspondents from Associated Press, CBS, the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times. That night a story concerning the claims of the "otkazniki" was carried on Voice of America.

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CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

276

3.

9. The next day, Wednesday 20 October, on arrival at the Supreme Soviet the "otkazniki" were told that Mr Shchelokov, the Interior Minister, had agreed to see them the next day, but only in his capacity as a Deputy of the Supreme Soviet, and not as Minister of the Interior. When three of the group saw Shchelokov and sought redress for their beatings they were told that he could do nothing to help them as he was not responsible for the KGB. They then walked out. (One American journalist has told us that Shchelokov also told the dissidents that he could not guarantee their safety, a rather extraordinary statement for a Soviet Interior Minister to make).

10. Shortly after the meeting with Shchelokov, four of the group were arrested. The sit-ins continued on Friday. Early on the morning of Monday, 25 October about 30 Moscow Jews were arrested, apparently to forestall further sit-ins in the week in which the Supreme Soviet would be sitting. The women in the group were subsequently released (after paying fines of the order of 20 Rubles) and all but two of the men, including one of the four arrested after the meeting with Shchelokov the previous Thursday, were given 15-day prison sentences. Nothing has been heard of the other two and some concern is felt for them. It is rumoured that one will face a charge of disturbing the peace, which carries a sentence of up to three years while the other may be charged with striking a militiaman (which he apparently did) which carries a sentence of up to five years, and it is felt that the Soviet authorities might wish to make an example of them.

11. We have been told by an American colleague that the group had timed the "sit-in" to coincide with the Supreme Soviet meeting and with the final "run up" to the American presidential election. The "otkazniki" had felt that things had been rather quiet on the dissident scene and that the end of October had been the ideal time to attract some attention to their plight. They seem to have succeeded as Mr Carter, the Democratic presidential candidate sent a telegram expressing "great concern" at their treatment and saying that he had a "deep personal interest" in their cases. According to our American colleague the group was therefore "very pleased" with the outcome of the sit-in.

JG-

(R.J.D. Gee)
First Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

OVERSEAS

Soviet Jews walk out of meeting with Minister of Interior

Moscow, Oct 21.—Three prominent members of the Soviet Jewish emigration movement said today they walked out of a meeting with Mr Nikolai Shchelokov, the Interior Minister, after he declined to discuss their charges that they were beaten by auxiliary policemen.

Dr Vladimir Slepak, a physicist, told Western reporters by telephone that he and two colleagues were received by Mr Shchelokov today after staging a sit-in at the reception offices of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) earlier this week.

He said they told Mr Shchelokov that they wanted to discuss the alleged beating incident on Tuesday night when the Jews say 12 of them were driven out of Moscow and removed from a bus forcibly by auxiliary policemen.

The Minister said he could only discuss their long-standing applications for visas to emigrate from the Soviet Union and declined to give guarantees for their security.

Dr Slepak, who has been waiting for six years to leave, said he and his colleagues, Mr Anatoly Shcheransky and Mr Boris Chernobitsky, then got up and left.

They, and about 20 other Jewish activists, resumed their vigil at the Supreme Soviet offices, but were ordered out by the police and driven off in a bus when the offices closed. They were taken to the outskirts of Moscow and then released.

Robert Parker writes: The plight of Jews in the Soviet Union is worsening rapidly and their situation is now similar to that of Jews in Germany in the 1930s, according to Professor Vitaly Rubin, one of the most eminent Jews to get out of Russia.

The professor, who is a world authority on Chinese history, left Russia in June with his wife, Inessa, whose father, he says, was killed by the Stalin

regime. They had both been trying to leave since 1972.

Professor Rubin, who estimates that there are about two million Jews in the Soviet Union, said in London yesterday that they were being subjected to "horrible" treatment by the Soviet authorities.

There was an intense propaganda campaign against Jews, and they were being attacked in the streets of Russian cities, he said. Intimidation was common and so many new obstacles had been put in the way of Jews wishing to emigrate that it was now virtually impossible to get out.

Jewish children were also being subjected to horrible treatment in schools. The anti-semitic feeling was caused by the great shortages of food.

Shortly before Professor Rubin left Russia, he helped to found the illegal Helsinki Monitoring Committee, which is designed to get information out of Russia about infringements of the recent Helsinki agreement.

His visit to Britain occurs a week before the arrival of Mr Boris Ponomarev, a secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Mr Ponomarev is thought to be responsible for much of the anti-semitic propaganda. He has been invited to Britain by the international committee of the Labour Party, whose acting chairman is Mr Ian Mikardo.

"You must understand that Russia is the perfect society", he said. "There is no reason why anybody should want to leave. To do this is treason. If you emigrate you are a traitor."

Asked about his view of the West (he lives in Israel and has visited the United States), he said: "I am very happy. It is very good to have such freedom." Any politician who thought there were more important things than such freedom should go to the Soviet Union,

Moscow Jews claim they were beaten up

Moscow, Oct 20.—Mr Nikolai Shchelokov, the Soviet Internal Affairs Minister, is reported to have agreed to meet 12 Moscow Jews who claim they were beaten up on Tuesday after seeking information about emigrating.

A spokesman for the Jews said they were told today at the Supreme Soviet (parliament) that Mr Shchelokov would see them tomorrow morning.

The party of Jews have spent the past three days at the parliament's public reception office waiting for an answer on when their exit visas, already once refused, might be approved.

They told a press conference last night that at the end of their vigil that day about 30 men wearing the red armbands of the volunteer auxiliary police forced them into a bus and drove them to a snowy clearing near Moscow.

There, they said, the policemen punched and kicked them for about 20 minutes when they refused to leave the bus. The Jews, who did not appear to be seriously injured, returned to Moscow later on an electric train.

Mr Shchelokov apparently will also see 15 other Jews who joined the other 12 petitioners this morning at the Supreme Soviet.—AP.

Jews in USSR 274

Russia Issues More Visas to Israel in 1976

WASHINGTON, May 27 (AP). —The Soviet Union issued about 5,000 exit visas for Israel in the first four months of the year, State Department figures indicated yesterday. At that rate, the 1976 total of such visas would show a slight increase over last year, when 13,000 were issued.

The figures also show a continued increase in the relatively small number of exit visas for the United States. Last year, the U.S. Embassy processed 1,162 emigrants. It processed about 680 in the first four months of this year.

About 50 per cent of the 1975 total bound for the United States were Jews. About 35 per cent of the total of emigrants processed this year were Jews.

Armenian Exodus

Armenians are the other major group coming to the United States from Russia and their number is rising faster than that of Jews.

Even with the increase in exit visas, the number of Jews permitted to leave the Soviet Union, where some claim they are targets of religious and cultural discrimination, is far below the totals in some recent years.

In 1971, the year of the first international conference on Soviet Jewry, 14,000 Jews were permitted to leave Russia. In 1972 the number increased to 31,500, and in 1973 to 34,800. In 1974 it was cut back to 20,200 and then, in 1975, to 13,000, according to data compiled by the State Department.

Congress late in 1974 required the Soviet Union to ease emigration curbs in return for U.S. trade concessions. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had counseled against the move, suggesting that "quiet diplomacy" was more effective. Early in 1975 the Russians nullified a 1972 trade agreement because of emigration and other conditions.

Still, the rate of emigration is considered a barometer of Soviet interests in a relaxation of tensions with the West. Early this year Moscow formally eased its emigration rules, cutting exit visa fees by 20 per cent and simplifying the documentation required of applicants.

Russian Jews called the move "tokenism" to comply with the European security conference agreement signed last August in Helsinki.

Jewish groups here report, meanwhile, that the duty on packages sent to Russian Jews has more than doubled, making it difficult to assist dissidents who have been fired from their jobs.

State Department officials said they were attempting to check the report with the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

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AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
MOSCOW

File No.

Memo. No.

Is Slain

By Douglas Watson

Warfare was in vogue among the people of the East when the first world war broke out. It was a time when the people of the East were not yet fully civilized and they were not yet fully civilized.

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Mr. [unclear]

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- 12 -

a large scale -- Large capacity hydropower stations and metallurgical enterprises are built and the baikal-amur railway is laid out, restoration of timber resources of siberia is planned, green belts will be created around new industrial centres,
item ends ++++++

= 19/4 tass 2-19 =
situation in Lebanon
Lebanon 1 (one) two takes
beirut april 19 tass the first meeting of a higher military committee consisting of representatives of the Lebanon, syria, and the palestinian resistance movement took place here under the chairmanship of rashid karame, prime minister, minister of defence , the committee members considered concrete measures aimed at observing the earlier reached agreement on ceasefire on all the fronts.
today, political figures of the Lebanon begin consultations on the question of realisation of the second stage of a political settlement of the crisis. in accordance with the amendment to the constitution, adopted by parliament and approved by the president, the deputies of parliament are to accept the resignation of suleiman franjieh, and elect a new president of the Lebanese republic. there is an opinion in the political circles that the pre-term election of a new head of state will take place within this week.
(more)

= 19/4 tass 2-19 =
Lebanon 2 (two)
despite the efforts which are being taken, exchanges of fire with the use of artillery and mortars continued in some areas of beirut on sunday. there are killed and wounded among civilian population. the press expresses the hope that complete ceasefire will be achieved in the coming days through the efforts of the higher military committee, and necessary conditions will be created for a political settlement of the crisis. item ends ++++++

X =19/4 tass 5-4 =
development of economy of jewish autonomous region
birobidzhan 1 (one) three takes
birobidzhan april 19 tass the volume of industrial output of the jewish autonomous region will increase by over one third during the tenth five-year plan period (1976-1980). the volume of capital investments over this period will increase by 50 per cent, a tass correspondent learned this from lev shapiro, the first secretary of the regional committee of the communist party.
many in the west have a vague idea of the existence of the jewish autonomous region, one of the equal regions of our multinational motherland, lev shapiro said. the 42-nd anniversary of the formation of the jewish autonomous

-13-

region in the soviet far east falls due in may. it is the practical implementation of the leninist national policy, the implementation of the rights of jews to self-determination. the region takes up an area of 36 thousand square kilometres and is inhabited by about 200 thousand people.

people of many nationalities of our vast motherland live and work in a closely-knit family in this region together with jews. they are all united by love for their only motherland, the soviet union, and by the striving to do their best to increase its economic potential,
(more)

= 19/4 tass 5-4 =

birobidzhan 2 (two)

in the years of the existence of the region, the volume of its industrial output increased several tens of times, shapiro said. the region was awarded the order of lenin for successes in economic and cultural development.

the plan for the region's industry for the ninth five-year plan period (1971-1975) was fulfilled a month ahead of schedule. the region's industry includes over 50 large enterprises.

the investment in the region's economic and cultural development for the past five years was 50 per cent greater than in the years of the eighth five-year plan period (1966-1970). the population's incomes, the wages of factory and office workers, increased considerably, shapiro said. the living conditions of every fourth citizen of the region were improved.

the region's economy will develop greatly during the tenth five-year plan period. the output of power transformers, footwear, sown articles and knit goods, of cement and other products will increase greatly.
/more/

=19/4 tass 5-4 =

birobidzhan 3 (three)

during the current five-year plan period, the average annual output of grain will grow by 50 per cent, of soybeans and vegetables by 30 per cent, of potatoes by 45 per cent. the development of the material and technical basis of agriculture will continue. deliveries of tractors, combines, of other machinery and of fertilizers will be increased.

the region's working people support and approve the decisions of the 25th cpsu congress, shapiro said. meetings of the working people were held at enterprises and in institutions, at collective and state farms. over 100 thousand people took part in them. everything is done in our country for the sake of the people and their wellbeing regardless of their nationality, the speakers at the meetings stressed. item ends ++++++

- 30 -

= 5/4 tass 2-32 =
spain 2 (two)

Local observers hold that participation of moderate christian democratic and monarchist parties and alignments in the democratic confederation complicates the government's position. it is pointed out here that in the government itself, differences arose in recent days over its internal-political course. the direct cause of that was an order by fraga iribarne, minister of the interior, to arrest four leaders of the democratic confederation (who wanted to promote the confederation's platform) including marcelino camacho, a prominent trade union leader, as well as to ban demonstrations in support of democratic reforms. rumours are also rife in madrid about a resignation of jose maria de areilza, minister of foreign affairs who expressed disagreement with the present course of the government. all these matters were discussed at a special meeting of the cabinet of ministers.
item ends +++++

= 5/4 tass 5-11 =

X

provocations continue
provocation 1 (one) three takes
moscow april 5 tass tass commentator boris ruikovich writes:

the international zionist circles that are ready to go any lengths to fan up anti-soviet hysteria continue the noisy provocative campaign around +marina temkina's case+ they invented themselves.

a tass report revealed what is behind this affair, but the so-called +free press+ of the west passed it in silence and continues to distort facts. so we shall have to bring up the facts again.

+i am indignant at the attempts of zionists to use my daughter's name for their dirty purposes+, marina's mother, maya raiskaya, a member of staff of the institute of defectology in moscow, told a tass correspondent.

+there is nothing strange in the fact that rabid anti-sovietists resort to their usual weapon, provocations. this is typical of them. but how can one describe the actions of temkin himself who is not rpt not averse to making his own daughter an object of a political speculation? one must truly lose all vestiges of conscience to be able to do this+, raiskaya said. +there is hardly any need, though, to speak of parental feelings of a man who once tried to damage the destiny of his daughter, who caused her a deep moral trauma+, marina's mother added.

/more/

- 31 -

= 5/4 tass 5-11 =
provocation 2 (two)

three years ago, maya raiskaya refused to go to israel with her husband alexander temkin and divorced from him. the court, proceeding from humane soviet laws protecting the interests of mothers and children, decided that marina, at that time 13 years of age, should stay with her mother; temkin then lost all restraint and started persecuting his daughter. he waited for her at street corners, did not rpt not allow her to go to school. matters went so far that when marina went to the children's camp +orlyonok+ on the black sea coast for her vacations, temkin tried to kidnap her.

+marina suffered a nervous breakdown because of temkin's actions,+

maya raiskaya recalled.

to protect marina from persecutions by her hooligan parent, the court deprived temkin of parental rights. +my daughter remembers him as a bad dream. temkin lost the lofty right to be a parent not rpt not only on the grounds of legal norms but also on the grounds of norms of humaneness+, raiskaya said.
/more/

= 5/4 tass 5-11 =
provocation 3 (three)

+it took a lot of time for the trauma of a child's vulnerable psychic to heal. marina has now again become a merry and communicable girl, popular with her coevals, maya raiskaya said. marina goes to a specialized school where the french language is studied profoundly. last year she joined the young communist league and is proud of this honour.+

+just as all soviet children, marina has one motherland, the soviet union, and does not rpt not wish to have anything to do with the so-called +jewish state+. this is why temkin's assertions that marina is subjected to pressure, that she is prevented from leaving for israel, from joining her father are so absurd, it is temkin himself that tried to impose his will on the girl and now he shamelessly tries to blame others+, raiskaya said.

+neither zionists nor temkin who became their obedient tool care anything at all for marina's destiny. their purpose is to mislead the public opinion, using the child's name as a cover, to slander the soviet union. but these are attempts with poor means+, marina temkina's mother said.
item ends +++++

Glen - 50

129
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X Mr. [redacted]

- 43 -

=8/4 tass 5-56 =
agent provocateurs caught in the act
zionists 1 (one) three takes
moscow april 8 tass the newspaper + izvestia+ today
exposed the provocative activity in the soviet union of
emissaries of zionist organizations who pose for
+tourists+ in the ussr. the article in the newspaper headlined
+ payment with biscuits+ is a story of the unglorious
end of a trip to the ussr of one of such +tourists+ -- 23
year old student mark levit of philadelphia, an activist
of the zionist organization + students in defence of soviet
jews+.

proved by the soviet authorities guilty of committing unlawful
actions, levit admitted: + our organization is interested to
know why the emigration of jews from the ussr
has dropped. we stepped up our activity in their defence and
made attempts to find out the causes of a drop in emigration.+

how the matters stand now is seen from the figures
recently cited by the israeli + shalom+ magazine. last year,
the flow of immigrants into israel dropped by 40 per cent,
while by two thousand more people left israel than came into
that country.
(more)

=8/4 tass 5-56 =
zionists 2 (two)

when last summer mark levit decided to go to the ussr as
a tourist, he received instructions from glen richter,
head of the +students in defence of soviet jews+
organization. Like other tourists he was instructed to
prepare a written account on the position of jews in the
soviet union. with this aim in view he was to
collect as much slanderous fabrications about life
in the ussr as possible. mark levit used as a +fee+ to the
authors of these fabrications instant broth balls,
bicquits, shirts purchased in sales and banking checks worth
fifteen hundred dollars. at the same time he distributed
propaganda literature.

in defiance of soviet laws and rules of
conduct of foreigners mark levit organized in leningrad a
meeting of u. s. congressmen who were on a visit in
the ussr at that time with persons
of jewish nationality, who were denied
exit visas from this country for security reasons. the
holding of this meeting was + one of the main aims+ of his
trip.
(more)

- 44 -

=8/4 tass 5-56 =
zionists 3 (three)

in a round-table meeting congressmen yates and green as well as other participants in the meeting discussed the activity of notorious senator jackson, an active opponent of the easing of tensions and business links between the usa and the ussr, they discussed in particular the question of reaction in the ussr to jackson's moves.

levit admitted that zionists further intend to use u. s. congressmen with their selfish aims.

answering the question whether his organization is connected with cia or fbi, mark levit answered: + i cannot reject such a possibility.+ the exposed agent provocateur said: + i ask the soviet authorities to take into consideration my young age, the israeli and u. s. zionist propaganda under whose strong influence i was.+

the newspaper + izvestia+ reminds that other zionist organizations, whose number in the usa is nearly 500, are engaged in similar provocative activity. the real face and unseamly machinations of these self-styled +defenders+ of soviet jews are now well known to international public.
item ends ++++++

=8/4 tass 61 =

geneva april 8 tass the disarmament committee started examining the question of a ban on the development and manufacture of new types of mass destruction weapons and new systems of such weapons. a draft international agreement on this issue was tabled by the soviet union, the soviet delegation called on the committee members for a constructive discussion of the draft agreement.
item ends ++++++

=8/4 tass d-5=

world ice hockey championship
+swedish opening+ of the championship
katowice april 8 tass (tass special correspondent)
the first goal in the game played by frg and swedish teams at the world ice hockey championship here was scored by swedish player lars gunnar lundberg in the 16th minute. the swedish team won the game with 4-1 (1-0, 1-0, 2-1).
item ends ++++++

=8/4 tass 5-54 =

frg exhibition ends

moscow april 8 tass 250,000 soviet specialists visited an exhibition of frg-made machine tools, which closed here today. about 170 firms participated in the exhibition.

to strengthen mutually-beneficial scientific-technical cooperation is one of the most important tasks of the exhibition, a tass correspondent was told by bernhard kapp, chairman of the union of german machine-tool building plants.

+ contacts of machine builders of both countries have lately become more intensified+ -- this is the opinion of andrei pavlov, deputy minister of the machine tool industry

McG...

- 13 -

disputes over the size of contributions by the nine and the list of recipient countries continued over many months,

it is believed in the eec that the community should not rpt not, as an organization, take practical steps in this direction until the opec and other international commercial organizations make their contributions to the fund, there are also serious disagreements within +the nine.+
/more/

= 9/4 tass 4-9 =
fund 2 (two)

the frg and france are against britain's demand for aid to so-called +non-associate states+, most of them are former british colonies, what is more, the frg refuses to join the fund until the +nine+ make concrete progress toward coordinating their national economic policies, the french minister for cooperation jean de lipkowski told his colleagues that in the opinion of his government an organization of the type of the international fund was a needless international relief body. item ends ++++++

= 9/4 tass 5-12 =

concerning a provocation
provocation 1 (one) three takes

X riga april 9 tass tass correspondent yakov Lushchevsky reports:

zamel zalmanson of riga is being taken to court on a charge of embezzling funds, he was arrested on a warrant issued by the deputy prosecutor of soviet latvia valentin daukshis. the case is being investigated.

it is an ordinary case in legal practice and it is surprising that it should attract the attention of some of the press bodies and radio stations in several western countries, papers and radio broadcasts are sensationalising the case, making the defendant out as an innocent sufferer and practically a martyr, this is done with the help of a conglomeration of lies, but, as they say, lies will out.

a tass correspondent today called at the republican prosecutor's office in riga, where he met the defendant and here is what he discovered.

what the uninvited western defenders of zalmanson shout most loudly about is his innocence, the document that the tass correspondent saw on the desk of the acting prosecutor of riga, arian alksnis, was a confession, it was written by zamel zalmanson, in his own handwriting, and in it he admitted having committed a crime and expressed his wholehearted repentance.
/more/

= 9/4 tass 5-12 =
provocation 2 (two)

zalmanson's defenders in the west are suggesting that he is being made to suffer because of his jewish nationality, but proceedings in this case have been instituted against zalmanson as well as other embezzlers belonging to different nationalities: valery kulachkovsky, - russian, former chief mechanic at the +tekstiliana+ textile mill and yuri martynov - a latvian, who was department chief at the +tekstiliana+ mill.

- 14 -

the group were in criminal collusion when they fraudulently got large sums of money from various enterprises, they embezzled scores of thousands of roubles,
/more/

= 9/4 tass 5-12 =
provocation 3 (three)

they in the west are furthermore raising a noise about the cruel treatment of zalmanson, but here is what zalmanson said to the tass correspondent: +i have no rpt no complaints since i am under normal regulations, in general, the charge against me is quite justified because i committed a crime and made it worse by doing it, not rpt not alone, but with a group of people, i said at the very start of the investigation, and i can repeat it now, that i repent what i have done,+

such are the circumstances of the case and let the readers judge for themselves what induced some of the mass media bodies in the west to distort the truth so grossly.
item ends ++++++

= 9/4 tass 41 =
beirut april 9 tass representatives of different political forces continue contacts with each other in order to ensure conditions for holding a parliament meeting which is scheduled for tomorrow, speaking on behalf of the bloc of the national patriotic forces, its leader kamal joumblatt said that members of the bloc are determined to do their best to ensure a lasting cease-fire throughout the country, representative of the right-wing forces, pierre gemayel, the leader of the kataeb party, also expressed himself in favour of holding a parliamentary meeting, at the same time, shooting involving the use of heavy arms continued in the lebanese capital on thursday, 13 persons were killed and 25 wounded, item ends +++++

= 9/4 tass 37 =
stockholm april 9 tass a meeting on the results of the 25th cpsu congress has been held by a local of the left party (communists) of sweden in the city of goteborg, the speakers emphasized the cpsu's leading part in the advance of soviet society, they said the peace-loving foreign policy of the cpsu and the soviet government is particularly important for the consolidation of the world communist movement and rallying of all progressives of the world, the meeting adopted a resolution which says: +we think it important that all members of the left party (communists) should study the materials and documents of the 25th cpsu congress, it will lead to stronger proletarian internationalism and deeper understanding of the nature of socialist state.
item ends ++++++

Wednesday, February 17, 1976

SLANDER FAIR

Zionist Gathering in Brussels

Y. Ryzhov

It goes against the grain with reactionary circles in the West to see the impressive successes of the Soviet Union, its purposeful peaceloving policy, which is exercising such a mighty positive influence on the course of world events, and its persistent efforts for detente. These circles were well and truly upset by the successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe when heads of states and governments of 33 European countries and of the USA and Canada put their signatures under the Final Act, which opened up clear horizons for Europe.

Cold war warriors, fearing detente, exert every effort to prevent it from materialising. For the same unseemly purposes they seek to vilify Soviet realities, inventing all sorts of stories and sowing misinformation and slander.

In this campaign, international reaction assigns no small role to the question, far-fetched from beginning to end, of discrimination against persons of Jewish nationality in the USSR. The task of raising a ballyhoo around this matter has been entrusted to the devoted servants of imperialism - Zionists. Israel's propaganda machinery, as well as the reactionary circles of some Western countries, have stirred all mass media into action, trying to prove that the USSR ... "infringes" on the rights of people of Jewish descent. A team of slanderers, frothing at the mouth, are arguing, while substituting notions, that the struggle against the racist policy of Zionism is tantamount to anti-Semitism. The Zionists are shamelessly speculating on the memory of the trials that fell to the lot of Jewish inmates of nazi camps during the Second World War, identifying all Jews with the Zionist state of Israel. The sponsors of the campaign hope thus to distract the attention of world public opinion from discussion of questions connected with Israel's violation of human rights in the Arab territories it occupied, from the plans of that Zionist state to destroy the Palestinian people.

A provocative gathering which the Zionists and their patrons are arranging in Brussels on February 17 should also be regarded as part of the campaign of unbridled slander. The gathering has the loud title of an "international congress in defence of Jews in the USSR", but behind it all are the same old attempts to discredit the Soviet Union and to accuse it of

Tuesday, February 17, 1976 - 2 -

5

"persecuting Jews" and refusing to let them go to their "motherland", that is Israel. Similar Zionist gatherings with shouts about "discrimination" of Jews in the USSR have already been held earlier. But all of them ended in failure. However, the past experience and also numerous protests throughout the world against the holding of the "slander fair" are not stopping the Zionists. Nor are they being checked by the fact that the world already knows the methods they use to attract the misguided people into Israel for one purpose alone - to use them in anti-Soviet propaganda and then leave them to their own devices.

At a recent press conference which also took place here, in Brussels, this scheme was described in no uncertain terms. Four former Soviet citizens, M. Konny, I. Roizman, G. Rubenchik, and V. Shnipar, told Belgian journalists and foreign newsmen who are accredited in the Belgian capital that, misled by Zionist propaganda, they had left for Israel and that they soon had parted with their illusions. According to them, they came to realise that the Israeli way of life with its religious spirit and capitalist practices, its cult of profit and undisguised racialism was completely alien to them since they had been born in a socialist country.

For the most part the Belgian press is rather reticent about the planned gathering of the Zionists, although its sponsors and inspirers do not grudge money for advertising. The other day they staged a press conference which was attended by very few newsmen, which is unusual for Brussels. Having told them about "the hard life of Jews in the Soviet Union," the organisers of the press conference for a long time begged those present to ask questions, but there were almost none. According to the Belgian press, this testifies to the decline of interest in such Zionist undertakings.

Many Belgians take a negative attitude to the staging of a Zionist gathering in their country, emphasizing that it in no way promotes the improvement of relations between the East and the West. The Belgian progressive quarters point out that the Soviet Union consistently opposes any actions aimed at interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, which fully corresponds to the Final Act of the European Conference and the policy of peaceful coexistence. The principles of the Final Act validated by the signatures of the leaders of 35 countries plainly and unequivocally reject any intervention in the internal affairs of other states.

Taking their cue from those who would like to take the world back to the times of the cold war, the sponsors of the Brussels gathering use slander in their attempts to blacken the process of detente. But they would hardly succeed in that.

(Izvestia, February 16. Abridged.)

Jan 50 - RBCRICK

Moscow News 7/76

PEOPLE RETURNING FROM ISRAEL ACCUSE ZIONISM

(Press conference in Moscow)



● Numerous representatives from Soviet and foreign newspapers, radio and TV came to the Moscow Journalists Club for the press conference (top photo).

● Top row, left to right, Isak Kaplan, Lazar Krais, Klara Krais; bottom row: Ilya Fuzailov, Boris Bravshstein, Valery Kuvent and Itzhok Zellser. All talked to the press and answered reporters' questions.

Photos by A. Knyazev

"If the 'Jewish problem' is today found anywhere in the world, then it is in Israel." This is what Lazar Krais, who has returned to the Soviet Union from Israel, said at a press conference held on February 6 by the Novosti Press Agency and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Press Department.

Six more people with similar experiences spoke to Soviet and foreign journalists. Accounts of difficult times outside the Soviet Union were told by 34-year-old Valery Kuvent (Nalchik), 56-year-old Itzhok Zellser (Chernovtsy), 41-year-old Ilya Fuzailov (Tashkent) and the younger Boris Bravshstein from Kiev and Klara Krais.

The stories of these people provided a picture of life in Israel as it really is. "The Israeli state system is a system of Zionist dictatorship," said B. Bravshstein. "The UN has passed a resolution correctly condemning Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination," said V. Kuvent. "I have seen for myself that this is true. Israel is a truly racist state and we, Soviet Jews, do not belong."

"A Vietnamese woman came to Israel with two children fathered by an Israeli citizen," said K. Krais. "She wanted to become an Israeli citizen, and was prepared to convert to Judaism. At that time Zionist propaganda was shedding crocodile tears about the fate of South Vietnamese refugees. But this Vietnamese woman was not admitted. The Ministry of Internal Affairs refused her application. The Chief Rabbinate said that it was not interested in this woman being converted to Judaism. The Vietnamese woman was not admitted to Israel so that the purity of the chosen race could be preserved. People from the USSR are also considered second-rate citizens in Israel. Many are blacklisted by the Chief Rabbinate and the Ministry of Internal Affairs as half-breeds. All their children-for generations to come are doomed to discrimination according to race. The existence of such blacklists in Israel is a universally known fact; even the Israeli press has commented about them."

I. Fuzailov spoke of Zionism's hidden aims when it calls for a large immigration flow to Israel. "The Zionists try to settle the incoming Jews near the borders with the Arab countries, in the militarized settlements they have set up on the lands occupied in 1967," he said. "Their main aim is to set up a buffer, make the emigres from the Soviet Union into a shield who could, if needs be, have the first blow fall upon themselves."

Powerful Zionist propaganda does not leave any angle uncovered in luring emigres to Israel. "Zionist propaganda is fooling Soviet Jews and all people around the world," said B. Bravshstein. "It was stressed at the press conference that nine out of ten emigres from the USSR, who had originally believed what Zionism had promised them, want to return home."

"They write that Tel Aviv has pretty shops with rich display windows, but if those windows were shattered and all the road back to the Soviet Union covered by splinters of glass, they would gladly walk barefoot along it," L. Krais said.

I. Zellser, B. Bravshstein and others spoke of how difficult it was for people who grew up under socialism to live in capitalist Israel. According to them, those arriving from the Soviet Union immediately come up against a host of problems, class antagonisms, the division into rich and poor, contradictions and strife among the different ethnic groups, unemployment, lack of free education and health services, and so on. Newcomers from the USSR cannot stomach the atmosphere of a universal rat race, clericalism and the ideology of belligerent Zionism.

V. Kuvent and I. Kaplan spoke about how world public opinion is being brainwashed.

"When I came to Israel, I was asked to speak on the radio programme Voice of Israel about the bad situation Soviet Jews are in. They told me I would be well paid," said V. Kuvent. "I was given a text - all of it lies - to read. I refused. I was also offered a tour of European countries and the USA to mobilize the people in the West to 'struggle' for the emigration of Jews from the USSR. I was again promised a lot of money. When I again refused, agents from the Shinbet, the Israeli secret police, started to harass me. I was threatened that my children

would be murdered. When they realized that I was not to be intimidated, they drafted me into the army."

As was noted at the press conference, Israeli official authorities make wide use of sending to the USSR false "calls" from non-existent relatives. "I myself saw how staff members of special service branches in Israel collect the addresses of acquaintances from people coming from the USSR so as to send them sham summons," said I. Zellser.

The words of I. Kaplan, whose wife, Maria, couldn't stand the trials of life in an alien land and committed suicide, made a great impression.

"I was prepared to walk through all Europe to kiss the cobblestones of a Moscow street," he said. "The Israeli Zionists went out of their way not to let me leave Israel. I was put under surveillance, threatened and offered money if I'd agree to stay. But I escaped and came back to my real native land - the Soviet Union. Here I can again have peace of mind."

All the speakers condemned Zionism for fanning the Middle East military-political conflict and for its policy of genocide in relation to the Palestinian Arabs and the people in the occupied territories. They all expressed hope that the people of Israel - both Jews and Arabs - would force the country's government to follow the just road of peace and friendship in the Middle East.

Avtandil RUKHADZB

WHO IS BLOCKING EXCHANGES

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the convocation of which has been consistently advocated by the USSR and other socialist countries, declares the intention of participating states "to promote the development of tourism, on an individual or collective basis", and also "to facilitate the free and wider dissemination of information of all kinds", conscious of the need "for an ever wider knowledge and understanding of the various aspects of life". Recent bourgeois propaganda alleges that the USSR is failing to observe the provisions which relate to the exchange of tourists and information. Facts, however, point to the contrary. As regards tourism, the USSR has been visited by 15 million foreigners in the past five years, and 11 million Soviet citizens have travelled abroad. As for the extent of information, the following article by our Byelorussian correspondent VLADIMIR BEGUN proves

that the West has nothing to boast of in this respect.

It was last summer. A group of Canadian tourists was spending its last evening in Byelorussia's capital Minsk before continuing its tour of the country. I put a conventional question to Josephine Fabris:

"Are you enjoying your stay in the Soviet Union? Do you like Byelorussia?"

She smiled back.

"Very much. It's an interesting country; your people are good-natured and sociable. I'm really glad that I stayed with the group and didn't return to Canada after Moscow."

"Why would you want to do that?"

"Back in Canada I was told to turn down the trip altogether. Some people even said that I was exposing myself

to great risks and would regret coming. But I wanted to see the country and so I came. As a matter of fact, I haven't met any risks and I've really enjoyed myself. I am glad that I did not listen to them back home."

Josephine Fabris did not say precisely who it was that advised her against going to the USSR. But we've found out about that from our talks with other tourists - American, Canadian and English. As a rule, people from the lower rungs of the social ladder are subjected to this sort of brainwashing - industrial workers, clerks, farmers - those who are not so well informed about the real situation.

When Leon Berg, a typographical worker from New York, arrived in Minsk with a group of US tourists, he was in a very gloomy state at first. Later he told the Intourist guides that he was expecting to be arrested and sent to Siberia! Happily, his fears were

absolutely unfounded, and everyone was very amused by his confession:

"A Zionist group in New York strongly advised me against going. They said that I was sure to be arrested and sent to Siberia. I took the chance." This type of pressure was also brought to bear upon one Andrei Zelyony, a resident of Regensburg, West Germany, when he decided to visit his relations in Byelorussia.

Such incidents are frequent among tourists from the West. They show that definite elements in the West go out of their way to prevent ordinary workers from visiting the Soviet Union. It is a fact that in the FRG many of those visiting the Soviet Union are blacklisted.

Why? The Novoye Russkoye Slovo, a US paper in Russian, gives a clear answer when it advises Americans of Russian extraction (mainly representatives of the "white" emigration) not to visit the Soviet Union. The paper la-

had stopped—there were no raw materials; half the workers had volunteered for the front. Lenin promised to help and called upon the workers to get the factory working as soon as possible. In September the factory started producing. Lenin's behest was carried out.

Lenin's last visit to the "Tryokhgorka" was on November 6, 1921—on the eve of the fourth October Revolution anniversary. Again the people were not expecting him, and when he stepped up to speak, the applause was so prolonged that it was several minutes before Lenin could begin his speech in which he discussed what had been done so far. He said: "Four years have enabled us to perform a miracle without parallel, in that a starving, weak and half-ruined country has defeated its enemies—the mighty capitalist countries... All that we have achieved goes to show that we base ourselves on the most wonderful force in the world—that of the workers and peasants."

The workers proved that Lenin's faith in their ability was justified. Stories told by people who saw Lenin passed from mouth to mouth and became legends. Lenin was dear to every working person. And the workers gave Lenin's name to the wonderful club that has been built on the site of the canteen where Lenin spoke.

L. KUNETSKAYA

VACATIONS—A MERRY TIME!



WINTER vacations for students are over in our country. And they had a real holiday. Holiday homes, boarding houses, sanatoriums, sports camps and ski centres were open for them. Thousands of young men and women made interesting tours of the country. During student vacations student air and rail fares were cut in half. Those who like alpine skiing went to the mountains of Georgia, Armenia and to Transcarpathia where new tourist centres were opened during the vacations.

Some 300 students from 20 institutes of higher learning in Moscow and other cities—from 35 developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and from socialist Mongolia and the DRV—spent 14 days at the Volga International Student Camp in one of the most picturesque localities in the Kaliningrad Region, on this great Russian river.



e) — Mi-
a Flurry",
Violette
17, 20 —
ed. 19 —
echinsky's

A comedy about a taxi driver who is always attracted by pretty young women, and as a result, funny misunderstandings crop up all the time.

Starring: Petra Kellling, Ingolf Goerges, Helga Raumer.



EXHIBITIONS

Exhibition Hall, RSFSR Artists Union (46b Gorky St). Paintings by Yevgeny Gudim (Sverdlovsk). Open daily, except Monday, from noon to 7 p.m. Trolleybuses 1, 12, 20. Metro Byelorusskaya.

Exhibition Hall, USSR Artists Union (25 Gorky St). Paintings by Jaromir Jindra (Czechoslovakia). Open daily, except Monday, from 1 p.m. to 7:30 p.m. Saturday and Sunday from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. Trolleybuses 1, 12, 20. Metro Mayakovskaya and Pushkinskaya.

Museum of Arts of Oriental Peoples (16 Obukha St). "Art of the Far East". From V. Kalashnikov's collection, presented to the museum. Open daily, except Monday, from 11 a.m. to 7 p.m. Bus 85, Metro Kurskaya.



SPORTS

Track-and-Field Athletics The Brothers Znamensky Indoor Stadium (8 Sirovnyka St). Moscow open championship. From 13 to 15. 13 and 14 at 6 p.m., 15 at 2 p.m.

Bandy Dynamo Stadium (36 Leningradsky Prospekt). USSR championship. 15 — Dynamo (Moscow) v Zorky (Krasnogorsk). 1 p.m.

Tennis Palace of Tennis. Central Army Club (39 Leningradsky Prospekt). Moscow international tournament. From 14 to 20. 10 a.m. (all days).



● Among the students who spent their vacations at the Volga International Student Camp are (from left to right): Paul Yu. (Mauritius), student at the Moscow Motor and Highway Institute (MADI); Damba Jacques (Congo), student at the Moscow Power Engineering Institute, Muscovite Irina Zharikova and Carlos Munares (Peru), who also study at MADI.

● Students, no less than sailors, really get into tug of war.

● Bangladesh students demonstrate their art.

● A nice ride!

● Arab students play chess under the skies.

● Ngo Tien Binh from Vietnam who is studying at the Mining Institute, has become a full-fledged "walrus" during the time he has been in the USSR.

Photos by V. Blagodarov



The truth about Jews in the USSR

By Vladimir LYSENKOV,
Candidate of Science (History)

ONE of the Soviet government's first documents—The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia (November 16, 1917)—abolished all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions and proclaimed "the free development of national minorities and ethnic groups living in the territory of Russia". Soviet decrees on the separation of church and state and banning anti-Semitic activities gave Jewish people the legal status of a nationality and placed them, just like other peoples, under state protection. The young Soviet Republic completely abolished all the discriminatory anti-Jewish laws that had been in effect under tsarist rule.

Severe punishments (deprivation of liberty from six months to three years or exile for up to 5 years) had been stipulated, for the first time in the history of any country, in all-Union laws, in the Constitution, as well as in the laws and criminal codes of all the Union Republics, for any attempt to create racial or national hostility, for insulting national dignity, restricting rights or, on the other hand, for granting any privileges to citizens because of race or nationality.

All these state acts were of tremendous significance for the previously oppressed and discriminated nations and nationalities of the USSR. The implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy has refuted in real life the Zionist myth about "eternal anti-Semitism" or that the "Jewish question" can be only solved by establishing a "Jewish state" where all Jews must settle. The national (including the Jewish) question has been successfully resolved in the Soviet Union on the basis of genuine equality and respect for all nations of former tsarist Russia.

EVERYTHING A PERSON CAN HAVE

"Soviet power has given me, as a Jewish township, a higher education, taught me, and entrusted me with the position of director of the Kirov Plant in Leningrad, the biggest one in the RSFSR," says Isaac Zaltsman, Major-General, Engineers, R.L., now director of the Leningrad Mechanical Works. "During the war I was Deputy People's Commissar (minister) of the USSR Tank-building Industry. I was elected deputy to the country's Supreme Soviet. I have received everything a person can have in our state." Isn't this a concrete answer to all those who like to talk about a "Jewish problem" in the USSR?

But maybe Zaltsman is unique in today's Soviet life? Not at all. Yefim Rubchikov, former director of the huge Sormovo shipbuilding yards, Vladimir Shvarts, a leading administrator in the USSR Ministry of the Food Industry, Mark Kauman, director of the Birobidzhan power transformer plant, and many thousands of Jewish people who became under Soviet power executives at important industrial and agricultural enterprises, state and administrative organs, prominent researchers and workers in culture have lived similar lives. Aren't their careers and biographies the best proof of equality of Jews in the USSR?

Answering the question on whether the notorious "Jewish problem" does exist in the USSR, Lev Shapiro, First Secretary of the Regional CPSU Committee of the Jewish Autonomous Region, expressed the position of Soviet Jews with utmost clarity: "More than 2,000,000 Jews live in the USSR, but there is no Jewish problem." The Jews, like the citizens of any other nationality, enjoy all the rights and privileges that socialist society offers its members.

Probably Shapiro's own life best refutes all inventions about the discrimination against Jews in the USSR. He was born after the Revolution in a small township in the Ukraine. He came from an ordinary Jewish family; his father died prematurely and his mother had to raise four children. All of them were educated and became highly skilled specialists. After graduating from the Moscow Institute of Steel and Alloys, he worked at a plant in Konsonolsk on Amur, in the Far East, beginning as a steelmaker's assistant and rising to become superintendent of the open-hearth furnace shop. He was elected Secretary of the Party Committee at his plant and since 1970 has been First Secretary of the Regional CPSU Committee of the Jewish Autonomous Region. In 1974 he was elected deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—the highest organ of Soviet state power.

When they hear people in the West discoursing how they are "discriminated against", Soviet Jews simply laugh. And what "discrimination" can there be if there are some 8,000 Jews among deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics and to the local Soviets? There are Jewish ministers and leaders of major departments. The Soviet state highly evaluates the contribution made by Jewish people, just the same as other Soviet citizens, to the development of the economy, science and culture and to socio-political life. Some 340,000 Jews have been decorated by the state, 117 were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union and 80—the title of Hero of Socialist Labour, 123

Jews have been awarded the Lenin Prize, about 11 per cent of all winners, 1,478 Jews, or 12 per cent of all winners, have been awarded the USSR State Prize.

The Zionists and their advocates speak of some sort of "obstacles" against Jews in the USSR in the system of Soviet science and education. Here again, I think, figures can refute such declarations better than emotions.

In the 1974-75 academic year, there were 350 Jewish students per 10,000 of their population. This is considerably higher than the figures for other Soviet nationalities. And in the 1971-72 academic year twice as many Jewish students were enrolled at Soviet institutes and universities than in Israel, where, of course, there are many more Jews than in the USSR.

Jews make up less than one per cent of the USSR's population but are more than 6 per cent of all the people employed in science, including 14 per cent of all Doctors of Science.

ON THE RIGHT TO LEAVE

LET'S take one more distortion about the situation of the Jewish people in the USSR. Certain people in the West are now eager to discredit—when international delirium is advancing—those important shifts in world politics identified with the Helsinki spirit. This is exactly why they distort the question whether it is possible for Soviet Jews to leave for permanent residence in Israel. And their findings, based on fabricated data, are used to "prove" that the USSR is allegedly violating the Final Act signed in Helsinki. However, hard facts deflate the so-called "protectors" of Soviet Jews in this too.

Altogether 122,000 persons of Jewish nationality, or about 5 per cent of the total Jewish population in the USSR, have left for Israel and, before it existed, to Palestine in the 30 years leading up to January 1, 1976. Only 1.6 per cent of all applications to emigrate to Israel were temporarily refused throughout this period.

The vast majority of applications are for reuniting families scattered during World War II and the Nazi occupation. The overwhelming majority of those who wanted to reunite their families had their wishes satisfied, and the insignificant number of temporary refusals is connected mainly with state security reasons, or family relationships. In real life this means that permission to leave may be postponed until the relatives settle their affairs, particularly material questions. Persons who have knowledge of state secrets or who have recently been trained in key military areas also get their permissions postponed. When the statute of secrecy expires, their application is reconsidered, and the same rules apply to them as to anyone else. In 1975, for example, over 300 people were permitted to emigrate who before had been refused. I must stress that the Soviet laws and rules on emigration are in complete accord with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 16, 1966.

Such are the facts. Readers can make their own conclusions.

FROM OUR

CORRESPONDENT

RECORD FUR AUCTION

THE 72nd international Leningrad fur auction was very interesting in the language of sports, it set a number of records. The first one—286 participants from 25 countries (189 people came for the sales in January 1975). The greatest number of furs came from the FRG—57; there were 52 from Great Britain, 29 from Italy and 13 from Japan. There were old acquaintances from France, Finland, Sweden, the Netherlands, Denmark and other countries. Representatives of foreign-trade organizations from Mongolia, Poland, the GDR and Yugoslavia were also at the auction. Viktor Ivanov, Soyuzpushnina Chairman, forecast at a press conference held before the auction that its participants would be very active and that there would be a great demand for sable, mink and long-haired fox. Good sales of Soviet karakul, a best-seller on the international market, were also expected. The auction's entire collection exceeded 2,200,000 skins. Not only are more buyers visiting the Leningrad auctions, but sellers as well. This year Afghanistan began to sell its karakul and broadtail skins. Poland shipped in with almost 40,000 nutrias; the Korean People's Democratic Republic brought kolinsky, raccoon badger and roe deer pelts; Mongolia came with ermine, kolinsky, wolf and chipmunk and Norway with pelts of hair seal and seal pups.

The first sound of the gavel confirmed Ivanov's predictions. FRG and Italian firms bought the most mink. David Mechutan (New York) gave a record price for sable, paying 450 dollars for each pelt. Per Tage Larsen, a Danish furrier, paid two record prices—300 dollars per red fox skin and 800 dollars per lynx skin.

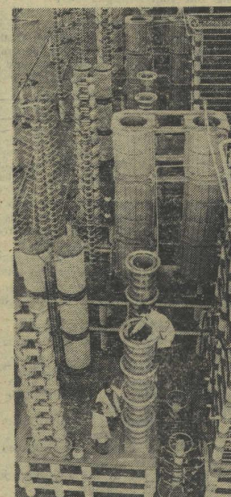
Only British firms were interested in squirrel at previous auctions. This year squirrel was snapped up by buyers from Denmark, the FRG and Italy.

There was heavy bidding at the karakul sales. The main buyers were from the FRG and Italy. Another major karakul purchaser was Poland.

Nearly the entire (99 per cent) fur collection at the 72nd auction was sold. This result was the best in quite a few years at the Leningrad auctions.

Georgi TOMASHEVSKIY

Leningrad



This is the general view of the high-capacity proving stand for testing and checking the converter equipment built for the country's first DC electric transmission line Ekibastuz-Centre, which began operations at the Togliatti branch of the Lenin All-Union Institute of Electrical Engineering.
Photo TASS

OF PEOPLE AND IDEAS?

ments that "anti-communist activity of the emigrants is fading much too quickly." According to the paper, one of the reasons for this is the increased number of visits to the USSR. "When an emigrant contacts his relations in the Soviet Union," the paper writes, "he more often than not ceases to be active in emigrant political activities," because after visiting the USSR they "see the better aspects of Soviet life."

So this is the "crux of the matter! Anti-communist centres are petrified of the truth about the Soviet Union, they would like to keep people in the shackles of anti-Soviet slander. They would rather stop all tourism than have people see the happy aspects of Soviet life. They are scared that Josephine Fabris might learn about the absence of unemployment, inflation, price increases, drug addiction and gangsterism in the USSR. What would she think of Western "democracy", if she were to find this out? How would she and

her friends take the bourgeois press fabrications about the USSR? Therefore, some people make it their business to advise her: "Josephine, don't go to Russia!" Others spread rubbish about drinking water in Leningrad being infected. And allege they are personally acquainted with an American who developed a stomachache that he could not get rid of for a whole year after going to Leningrad.

Not everybody is taken by this rubbish. Many come to the Soviet Union and see how completely misinformed they were.

Some time ago an old American worker from Detroit came to visit his relations in a Byelorussian village. He brought with him a trunkful of cakes of soap—for presents! When the farmers saw that they had a good laugh and asked why he wanted all that soap? The guest explained that the soap was supposed to be precious in our country. He could not see how

ridiculous it was: "I learned that it is hard to get soap in your country. This way, everyone gets a cake." After visiting a collective farm Joseph Svetin, a tourist from the USA, said: "Your villages are smart, the homes are roomy and clean, the farmers are well-to-do, cheerful and optimistic." He was asked: "What did you expect our villages to be like?" "Poor and dirty, and the farmers—wearing rags and short of food," he replied. "That is what the American press says."

Certainly that is the favourite theme of the Western bourgeois press when it writes about our country. It is quiet about, or belittles, our achievements and blows up out of proportion the problems and drawbacks; it lies, misinforms its readers and slanders our country and system. One cannot say that no truth at all is said or written in the West about the Soviet Union. It is just that objective information about the USSR is frowned upon.

THE SOUND AND THE FURY

Hats not unbleached and not hats. In three years I can not wear a hat. I could not. Was. Will there be hats then since I was not and not Harvard then. Where the best of thought Father said clings like dead ivy vines upon old dead brick. Not Harvard then. Not to me, anyway. Again. Sadder than was. Again. Saddest of all. Again.

Spoode had a shirt on: then it must be. When I can see my shadow again if not careful that I tricked into the water shall tread again upon my impervious shadow. But no sister. I wouldn't have done it. I won't have my daughter spied on. I wouldn't have.

How can I control any of them when you have all

103

he was a graduate of the divinity school. And when he came to understand what it meant he was so taken with it that he began to retail the story himself, until at last he must come to believe he really had. Anyway he related long pointless anecdotes of his undergraduate days, speaking familiarly of dead and departed professors: by their first names, usually incorrect ones. But he had been guide mentor and friend to unnumbered crops of innocent and lonely freshmen, and I suppose, that with all his petty chicanery and hypocrisy he stank no higher in heaven's nostrils than any other.

"Haven't seen you in three-four days," he said, staring at me from his still military aura. "You been sick?"

"No. I've been all right. Working. I reckon. I've seen you, though."

"Yes?"

"In the parade the other day."

"Oh, that. Yes. I was there. I don't care nothing about that sort of thing, you understand, but the boys likes to have me with them, the vet runs does. Ladies wants all the old vet runs to turn out, you know. So I has to oblige them."

"And on that Wop holiday too?" I said. "You were obligeing the W. C. T. U. then I reckon."

"That? I was doing that for my son-in-law. He aims to get a job on the city forces. Street cleaner. I tells him all he wants is a broom to sleep on. You saw me, did you?"

"Both times. Yes."

"I mean, in uniform. How'd I look?"

"You looked fine. You looked better than any of them. They ought to make you a general, Deacon." He touched my arm, lightly, his hand that worn, gentle quality of niggers' hands. "Listen. This aint

106

before the fire must remove one hand long enough to drink Christmas. Jason ran on, his hands in his pockets tell down and lay there like a trussed owl until Versh set him up. Why'n't you keep them hands outen your pockets when you running you could stand up then Rolling his head in the cradle rolling it flat across the back. Caddy told Jason Versh said that the reason Uncle Maury didn't work was that he used to roll his head in the cradle when he was little.

Shreve was coming up the walk, shambling fatly earnest, his glasses glinting beneath the running leaves like little pools.

"I gave Deacon a note for some things. I may not be in this afternoon, so dont you let him have anything until tomorrow, will you?"

"All right," He looked at me. "Say, what're you doing today, anyhow? All dressed up and mooning around like the prologue to a suite. Did you go to Psychology this morning?"

"I'm not doing anything. Not until tomorrow, now."

"What's that you got there?"

"Nothing. Pair of shoes I had half-soled. Not until tomorrow, you hear?"

"Sure. All right. Oh, by the way, did you get a letter off the table this morning?"

"No."

"It's there. From Semiramis. Chauffeur brought it before ten o'clock."

"All right. I'll get it. Wonder what she wants now."

"Another band recital, I guess. Tumpy ta ta Gerald blah. 'A little louder on the drum, Quentin.' God. I'm glad I'm not a gentleman." He went on, nursing

For the beginning see issues Nos. 48-52, 1975 and Nos. 1-6, 1976.

101

ways taught them to have no respect for me and my wishes I know you look down on my people but is that any reason for teaching my children my own children I suffered for to have no respect Trampling my shadow's bones into the concrete with hard heels and then I was hearing the watch, and I touched the letters through my coat.

I will not have my daughter spied on by you or Quentin or anybody no matter what you think she has done.

At least you agree there is reason for having her watched.

I wouldn't have I wouldn't have I know you wouldn't I didn't mean to speak so sharply but women have no respect for each other for themselves

But why did she The chimes began as I stepped on my shadow, but it was the quarter hour. The Deacon wasn't in sight anywhere. I think I would have could have

She didn't mean that that's the way women do thing its because she loves Caddy.

The street lamps would go down the hill then rise toward town I walked upon the belly of my shadow.

I could extend my hand beyond it feeling Father behind me beyond the rasping darkness of summer, and August the street lamps Father and I protect women from one another from themselves out women Women

are like that they don't acquire knowledge of people we are for that they are just born with a practical fertility of suspicion that makes a crop every so often and usually right they have an affinity for evil for supplying whatever the evil lacks in itself for drawing it about them instinctively as you do bed-clothing in slumber fertilising the mud for it until the evil has served its purpose whether it ever existed or no. He was coming along between a couple of

104

for outside talking. I dont mind telling you because you and me's the same folks, come long and short." He leaned a little to me, speaking rapidly, his eyes not looking at me. "I've got strings out, right now. Wait till next year. Just wait. Then see where I'm marching. I want need to tell you how I'm fixing it. I say, just wait and see, my boy." He looked at me now and clapped me lightly on the shoulder and rocked back on his heels, nodding at me. "Yes, sir. I didnt turn Democrat three years ago for nothing. My son-in-law on the city: me—Yes, sir. If just turning Democrat'll make that son of a bitch go to work.... And me: just you stand on that corner yonder a year from two days ago, and see."

"I hope so. You deserve it, Deacon. And while I think about it—" I took the letter from my pocket. "Take this around to my room tomorrow and give it to Shreve. He'll have something for you. But not till tomorrow, mind."

He took the letter and examined it. "It's sealed up." "Yes. And it's written inside. Not good until tomorrow."

"If I'm" he said. He looked at the envelope, his mouth pursed. "Something for me, you say?" "Yes. A present I'm making you."

He was looking at me now, the envelope white in his black hand, in the sun. His eyes were soft and iridescent and brown, and suddenly I saw Roskus watching me from behind all his whitefolks' claspnet of uniforms and politics and Harvard, making a different, secret, articulate and sad. "You aint playing a joke on the old nigger, is you?"

"You know I'm not. Did any Southerner ever play a joke on you?"

"You're right. They're fine folks. But you cant live with them."

107

a book, a little shapeless, fatty intent. The street lamps do you think so because one of our forefathers was a governor and three were generals and Mother's weren't any live man is better than any dead man but no live-or-dead man is very much better than any other live or dead man Done In Mother's mind though. Finished. Finished. Then we were all poisoned you are confusing sin and morality women don't do that your Mother is thinking of morality whether it be sin or not has not occurred to her

Jason I must go away you keep the others I'll take Jason and go where nobody knows us so he'll have a chance to grow up and forget all this the others dont love me they have never loved anything with that streak of Compson selfishness and false pride Jason was the only one my heart went out to without dread.

nonsense Jason is all right I was thinking that as soon as you feel better you and Caddy might go up to French Lick

and leave Jason here with nobody but you and the darkies

she will forget him then all the talk will die away found not death at the salt licks maybe I could find a husband for her not death at the salt licks

The car came up and stopped. The bells were still ringing the half hour. I got on and it went on again, blotting the half hour. No: the three quarters. Then it would be ten minutes anyway. To leave Harvard your Mother's dream for sold Benjy's pasture for

what have I done to have been given children like these Benjamin was punishment enough and now for her to have no more regard for me her own mother I've suffered for her dreamed and planned and sacri-

102

freshmen. He hadn't quite recovered from the parade, for he gave me a salute, a very superior-officerish kind.

"I want to see you a minute," I said, stopping. "See me? All right. See you again, fellows," he said, stopping and turning back, "glad to have chatted with you." That was the Deacon, all over. Talk about your natural psychologists. They said he hadn't missed a train at the beginning of school in forty years, and that he could pick out a Southerner with one glance. He never missed, and once he had heard you speak, he could name your state. He had a regular uniform he met trains in, a sort of Uncle Tom's cabin outfit, patches and all.

"Yes, sub. Right dis way, young marster, hyer we is," taking your bags. "Hyier, boy, come hyer and git dese grips." Whereupon a moving mountain of luggage would edge up, revealing a white boy of about fifteen, and the Deacon would hang another bag on him somehow and drive him off. "Now, den, don't you drap hit. Yes, sub, young master, jes give de old nigger yoo room number, and hit'll be done got cold dar when you arrives."

From then on until he had you completely subjugated he was always in or out of your room, ubiquitous and garrulous, though his manner gradually moved northward as his raiment improved, until at last when he had bled you until you began to learn better he was calling you Quentin or whatever, and when you saw him next he'd be wearing a cast-off Brooks suit and a hat with a Princeton club I forget which band that some-ne had given him and which he was pleasantly and unshakably convinced was a part of Abe Lincoln's military sash. Someone spread the story years ago, when he first appeared around college from wherever he came from, that

105

"Did you ever try?" I said. But Roskus was gone. Once more he was that self he had long since taught himself to wear, in the world's eye, pompous, spurious, not quite gross.

"I'll confer to your wishes, my boy."

"Not until tomorrow, remember."

"Sure," he said; "understood, my boy. Well—"

"I hope—" I said. He looked down at me, poignant, profound. Suddenly I held out before me the height of his municipal and military dream. "You're a good fellow, Deacon. I hope.... You've helped a lot of young fellows, here and there."

"I've tried to treat all folks right," he said. "I draw no petty social lines. A man to me is a man, wherever I find him."

"I hope you'll always find as many friends as you've made."

"Young fellows. I get along with them. They dont forget me, neither," he said, waving the envelope. He put it into his pocket and buttoned his coat. "Yes, sir," he said. "I've had good friends."

The chimes began again, the half hour. I stood in the belly of my shadow and listened to the strokes spaced and tranquil along the sunlight, among the thin, still little leaves. Spaced and peaceful and serene, with that quality of autumn at the bells even in the month of brides. Lying on the ground under the window following He took one look at her and knew. Out of the mouth of babes. The street lamps The chimes ceased. I went back to the post-office, treading my shadow into pavement, go down the hill then they rise toward town like lanterns hung one above another on a wall. Father said because she loves Caddy she loves people through their shortcomings. Uncle Maury straddling his legs

108

fixed I went down into the valley yet never since she opened her eyes has she given me one unselfish thought at times I look at her I wonder if she can be my child except Jason he has never given me one moment's sorrow since I first held him in my arms I knew then that he was to be my joy and my salvation I thought that Benjamin was punishment enough for any sins I have committed I thought he was my punishment for putting aside my pride and marrying a man who held himself above me I dont complain I loved him above all of them because of it because my duty though Jason pulling at my heart all the while but I see now that I have not suffered enough I see now that I must pay for your sins as well as mine what have you done what sins have you high and mighty people visited upon me but you'll take up for them you always have found excuses for your own blood only Jason can do wrong because he is more Bascomb than Compson while your own daughter my little daughter my baby girl she is she is no better than that when I was a girl I was unfortunate I was only a Bascomb I was taught that there is no halfway ground that a woman is either a lady or not but I never dreamed when I held her in my arms that any daughter of mine could tell herself dont you know I can look at her eyes and tell you may think she'd tell you but she doesn't tell things she is se-cretive you dont know her I know things she's done that I'd die before I'd have you know that's it go on criticise Jason accuse me of setting him to watch her as if it were a crime while your own daughter can I know you dont love him that you wish to believe faults against him you never have yes ridicule him as you always have Maury.

(To be continued)

Monday, February 9, 1976

201.4.2
Jews - SU
603+3+02776+00

128
262

5

PRESS CONFERENCE AT CENTRAL JOURNALISTS' CLUB

Moscow, February 6. "90 per cent of those who went from the USSR to Israel are eager to return to the USSR", said 44-year-old driver Leizer Kraiss. He took part in a press conference of Soviet Jews who returned home.

Leizer Kraiss, his wife and their two sons emigrated to Israel in 1971 and spent there about a year. Now the family lives in Chernovtsy, in the Ukraine.

"The Soviet people have nothing in common with those who live in Israel," Kraiss said. "We have different languages, a different way of thinking, a different way of life. The Soviet Jews are members of the new historic community, the Soviet people. They do not belong to the 'world Jewish nation' which the Zionists thought up. They are no part of it and reject any spiritual or other control from world Zionism".

The press conference was organized by the Novosti Press Agency and the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the request of persons of Jewish nationality who returned to the USSR. "The so-called Jewish question does not exist in our country. It was artificially created and fanned up by Zionist circles", said Vsevolod Sofinski, Chief of the Ministry's press department.

The press conference was addressed by an engineer, a nurse, a mechanic, a builder. They stressed that the main reason for their return to the USSR is social incompatibility of people who grew up and lived under socialism with the conditions and the way of life in Israel. They pointed out that stability, security, a guaranteed right to work, free education, medical service and cheap housing are non-existent in Israel.

"Israel is a racist state and we, Soviet Jews, do not belong there. They wish to use us as unskilled labour and cannon-fodder", said 33-year-old Valeri Kuvent.

It was stressed at the press conference that Jewish emigration from the USSR to Israel last year dropped by over 66 per cent as compared with 1973.

(All papers, TASS. Summary.
February 7.)

Monday, February 16, 1976

603+3+02837+00

124
3
261

INVITATION OR PROVOCATION?

Sovetskaya Rossia About Tel Aviv's Machinations

"Certain Zionist circles, with the direct connivance of Tel Aviv rulers, decided to launch a broad campaign of provocations against many Soviet citizens of Jewish extraction," writes today the paper Sovetskaya Rossia. The article headlined "Invitation or Provocation?" says that the OVIR, the organization handling documents for leaving the Soviet Union, has been receiving quite a number of statements in which people, on receiving so-called "invitations" from Israel, wrathfully protest against such provocations and ask for protection against these false papers. Writing in this vein are N. Ostrovskaya, Yu. Friedmann, husband and wife Shavulski, O. Belgorsky, G. Lifshits and many others.

The "invitations", the paper writes, are often sent to the place of employment in an attempt to discredit people in the eyes of their co-workers, to sow mistrust in them and, in the long run, compel the hapless victims to leave for Israel.

Who and for what purpose, asks the Sovetskaya Rossia, needs to fabricate these false "invitations", resorting to impermissible, dirty methods?

The reply can be partially found in the pages of recent issues of the Israeli paper Our Country, published for emigrants. Tel Aviv, the paper writes, is seriously alarmed that the condemnation by the 30th Session of the UN General Assembly of Zionism as "a form of racialism and racial discrimination", will result in a further curtailment of emigration to Israel.

The emigrants' lot in Israel is unenviable, and they are fleeing that country, writes the Sovetskaya Rossia. They are fleeing in such threatening numbers that the paper Our Country has to print a hysterical appeal from Israel's social-cultural union for creating a special committee to put a stop to Israeli citizens leaving the country.

(Sovetskaya Rossia, February 14. TASS Summary.)

in file

Genes - 50

123

260

-17-

increasing unemployment rate. according to official data, there are now in indonesia about 14 million fully or partially unemployed.
item ends +++++

= 7/2 tass 50-3 =

zionists' lies and provocations
provocations 1 (one) three takes
moscow february 7 tass tass correspondent boris
ruikovich writes:

X hard times came for those who try to entice people into israel. no rpt no matter how the zionist troublemakers are publicizing the joys of the +promised lands+, the number of jews wishing to go to live there is plunging. thus, last year, compared with 1974, the number of new arrivals in israel, according to the data of the israeli authorities themselves, dropped by half. emigration of jews from the ussr to israel decreased in 1975 more than by 66 per cent as compared with 1973.

protests of soviet citizens who receive calls from israel from non-existent relatives arrive at the ussr ministry of foreign affairs and organs of the soviet press.

dweller of samarkand, ester davydova writes with indignation that she received a call from israel on behalf of her elder daughter tsipora. but her daughter tsipora lives in samarkand, not rpt not far away from her mother's place, so she could not rpt not have sent her a call from israel.

/ more/

= 7/2 tass 50-3 =

provocations 2 (two)

+i was born and grew up in the soviet union and i raised seven children here, ester davydova writes. the soviet power gave them higher or secondary education. they work as engineers, teachers, skilled workers. they have families. i have no rpt no other motherland but the soviet union. therefore i wish the documents i enclose be returned to those who sent them+.

dweller of odessa valentin gabuchiya is pestered with letters with insistent calls to leave the ussr for the jewish state by the +relative+ shimon rozenman of whom he knew nothing so far.

+i declare that i have no rpt not acquaintance of any shimon rozenman and i never had any intention to leave for israel, gabuchiya writes. please, protect me from receiving further documents of this kind which i regard as zionist provocations+.

/ more/

-1-

= 7/2 tass 50-3 =
provocations 3 (three)

doctor roman marianchik lives and works in odessa for many years. he is merited doctor of the ukraine, candidate of medical sciences, holder of three orders and four medals. he is respected in odessa. and suddenly the old doctor receives a call from israel. +i am insulted and indignant at the zionists' provocation against me. obviously, they do not rpt not like the fact that there is no rpt no national discrimination in the soviet union and they would like to inspire it,+ he writes.

the real meaning of these provocations was revealed by engineer-mechanic from the ukrainian town of chernovtsy yitzhok zeltser who went to israel but got rapidly disillusioned with the +promised land+ and returned to the soviet union. speaking at a press conference in moscow, he said he saw for himself how in israel workers of special services took from new arrivals the addresses of their acquaintances in the ussr so as to send them false calls from non-existent relatives.
item ends +++++

= 7/2 tass d-6 =

world record holder wins olympic medals
innsbruck february 7 tass soviet sports woman tatiana averina, 25, won the olympic gold medal in the 1,000-metre speed-skating event, clocking one minute 20.43 seconds.
item ends +++++

= 7/2 tass d-4 =

olympic results
innsbruck february 7 tass tologgan. women.
1. margit schumann (gdr) -- 2 min. 30.621 sec.,
2. ute ruehrold (gdr) -- 2:50.847, 3. elisabeth demleitner (fng) -- 2:51.056, 4. eva-maria wernicke (gdr) -- 2:51.262, 5. antonia mayer (austria) -- 2:51.360,
6. margit graf (austria) -- 2:51.459
... 9. vera zozulya (ussr) -- 2:52.661.
item ends +++++

= 7/2 tass 4-22 =

daylead-workers' struggle 1 (one)
paris. february 7 tass mass demonstrations, meetings and strikes marked the iron-and-steel workers' action day held in france at the call of the biggest trade union associations -- the general confederation of labour and the french-democratic confederation of labour.

the workers are demanding that employment be secured, living standards and working conditions improved, and trade-union rights respected.

new york february 7 tass having opened the fire the police of the city of charlotte amalie, the capital of virgin islands, dispersed a demonstration of striking teachers.

the teachers who have been on strike for a month now came to the residence of the governor of the territory in a demand for release of 15 comrades who had picketed the central school of the city. the governor sent a detachment of armed police to meet the demonstrators.

/ more/

Jews:SV

122

258

-32-

= 6/2 tass 50-7 =

israel is racist state

israel 1 (one) ten takes

moscow february 6 tass + 90 per cent of people of the jewish nationality who emigrated to israel from the ussr are eager to return to their motherland+, said 44-year-old driver leizer kraiss, resident of the ukrainian town of chernovtsy. he took part in a press conference of soviet jews who returned to their home. the conference was held today in moscow.

leizer kraiss, his wife and their two sons emigrated to israel in 1971 and spent there about a year. +the soviet people, kraiss said, have nothing in common with those who live in israel. we have different languages, a different way of thinking, a different way of life, the soviet jews are members of a new historic community, the soviet people, they do not rpt not belong to the 'world jewish nation' which the zionists thought up, have nothing in common with world zionism and reject any spiritual or other control from world zionism+. /more/

= 6/2 tass 50-7 =

israel 2 (two)

the press conference in moscow was organized by the novosti press agency and the ussr foreign ministry at the request of the jews who returned to the soviet union.

the so-called jewish question does not rpt not exist in the soviet union, vsevolod sofinski, chief of the press department of the ussr foreign ministry, said, opening the press conference. this question was artificially created and is fanned up by the zionist circles.

the justice of these words was confirmed by what the jews who returned from israel told the press conference.

+nothing threatened us in the soviet union, either in physical or in economic or in cultural sense, said yitzhok zeltser, upon return from israel, he works as an engineer-mechanic in his native town of chernovtsy. +we worked, had rest and studied and enjoyed equal rights with all soviet people regardless of their nationality. but the zionists mercilessly interfered in our destiny, enticed us to israel+. /more/

= 6/2 tass 50-7 =

israel 3 (three)

+i spent in israel less than two years and this was enough for me to realize that the only correct decision is to return home+, zeltser said.

+in israel a person is not rpt not sure of tomorrow, he said, he fears losing a job and regards any person as a potential competitor who can crowd him out+.

the press conference revealed convincingly the militarist, aggressive ideology of the zionist state.

-33-

yitzhok zeltser recalled that in 1947 the soviet union made a proposal not rpt not to create two independent states on the territory of palestine but to form an arab-jewish federation. +the blood spilt in several wars, thousands of killed and homeless show that this was the sanest and most constructive proposal+, he said.

+the policy of anti-sovietism and anti-communism conducted by the israeli rulers brought harm, not rpt not benefit, to the jewish people of that state, the call of the communist party of israel 'with arabs against imperialism and not rpt not with imperialism against arabs' can only be welcomed+.
/ more /

= 6/2 tass 50-7 =
israel 4 (four)

+i fled from israel for i realized that the zionists wished to make me an accomplice to their crimes, said valeri kuvent, a 33-year-old resident of the town of nalchik in the caucasus. when one lands in israel one realizes that the zionists need him to find it easier to develop the occupied arab lands+.

+immigrants are allowed to settle on occupied arab lands, he said. but it is hard to live on the land, remembering that hundreds of thousands of people were driven from that land, that they now live in tent camps and slums, while israeli planes bomb them+.

+the united nations passed a resolution that brands zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination, valeri kuvent said. i got convinced that this decision is right. israel is a racist state and we, soviet jews, do not rpt not belong there. they wish to use us as unskilled labour and cannon fodder+.

kuvent told newsmen that after he refused to speak over +voice of israel+ radio to say lies about the position of jews in the ussr he was immediately issued call-up papers. / more /

= 6/2 tass 50-7 =
israel 5 (five)

kuvent fled from israel to save himself from being called up into the army, his acquaintances hid him in a trunk which was put on a motorship, in this way he reached cyprus.

valeri kuvent said that people are forcibly recruited into the israeli army, one his acquaintance was brought to a call-up centre in handcuffs, another one was mobilized despite the fact that he had lost an eye when he was a child. he was told cynically: +moshe dayan has one eye, too, but he wears a uniform+.

the society of glaring social contrasts, poisoned with hatred of mankind and militarism, this is how israel will be remembered by iliya fuzailov, engineer from samarkand, the soviet central asia.

+when you arrive in israel you are welcomed with words: 'congratulations upon returning to the holy land'. but quite

soon the newcomers realize what is the reason for which jews are enticed from the soviet union. we were told that israel daily has a shortage of 25 thousand workers and were warned that 100 million arabs will have to be opposed for long+. /more/

= 6/2 tass 50-7 =
israel 6 (six)

israelis try to make soviet jews settle on the border with arab states and in army settlements on the territories annexed from arabs in 1967. their main purpose is to create a buffer, a section from emigrants, who could take on the first strike.+

+one's heart sinks, you wake up to reality and begin to realize that you have taken a fatal, erroneous step, disastrous not rpt not only for yourself but, above all, for your own children for in israel they have no rpt no future+, iliya fuzailov told newsmen.

boris bravshstein, a building engineer from kiev, left for israel in march, 1972, with his wife, two children and his mother. very soon, they discovered that in that +jewish state+ everything is alien to them -- culture, ideology and psychology of people. +there is an ideological affinity between fascists and zionists, bravshsteing said at a press conference. they both are racists, the soviet people cannot accept such ideology. it is abominable to us+. /more/

= 6/2 tass 69 =

geneva february 6 tass the number of people killed during the earthquake in guatemala has exceeded 6,000, an official united nations spokesman said here today. some 40,000 guatemalans have been injured. item ends +++++

= 6/2 tass 5-31 =

military exercises +kavkaz+ are over
moscow february 6 tass the corps-size military exercises of soviet troops codenamed +kavkaz+ are over. the units, which were taking part in the exercises, are returning to their winter quarters. the tasks, set before the exercises, have been carried out, tass correspondent was told at the ussr defence ministry.

the observers from bulgaria, greece, rumania, turkey and yugoslavia, who attended the exercises, left the soviet union. item ends ++++++

-35-

= 6/2 tass 50-7 =
israel 7 (seven)

Life in israel is impossible for us, it is a racist society+, says klara kraiss, a nurse from chernovtsy. she said that immigrants from the ussr are regarded second class citizens in israel. many of them are black-listed by rabbies and the ministry of the interior as half-bred therefore all their kin for many generations are doomed to discrimination.

klara kraiss said that textbooks published in tel aviv which were used by her children for studies were imbued with chauvinism, that it was written in them outright that +the jews are mankind's elite+.

67-year-old moscow pensioner isaak kaplan spoke at the press conference +i have lived through the most horrible tragedy in my life in israel, my wife hanged herself out of despair and grief+.

isaak kaplan said that for a month after arriving in israel in 1971 neither he nor his wife could find a job. / more /

= 6/2 tass 50-7 =
israel 8 (eight)

after almost all their belongings were sold out, kaplan managed to get an unskilled job, his wife got employed as a charwoman, they could hardly make ends meet and were surrounded by indifference. +in israel, we became the lowest slaves, isaak kaplan said, maria could not rpt not tolerate this horrible change in our life and committed suicide+.

isaak kaplan managed to escape and returned to his true motherland, the soviet union. +i was ready to walk on foot through the whole of europe to be able to kiss moscow cobblestones+, he said.

many jews who had illusions about the +promised land+ come to realize the real state of affairs, it was reported at the press conference that emigration to israel from the ussr dropped last year by over 66 per cent as compared with 1973. / more /

= 6/2 tass 50-7 =
israel 9 (nine)

seeing that the emigration of jews to israel is steadily dwindling, the zionists resort to crude hoaxes and blackmail.

statements of soviet citizens protesting against dirty provocations of zionists who send them false calls from israel from non-existent relatives were circulated at the press conference. +my only motherland is the soviet union, not rpt not the racist state of israel+, writes resident of the ukrainian town of lvov m. sapozhnikov. +please publish my protests and indignation over provocations of israeli zionists against honest soviet people+, declares isaak averman, a worker from odessa. / more /

= 6/2 tass 50-7 =
israel 10 (ten)

children have it the hardest in israel: they have no rpt no future, said iliya fuizalov, answering questions from

254

-36-

newsmen. i visited the family of my relatives who have five children. they are doomed to receive education no rpt no higher than four classes (while there is universal secondary education in the ussr).

have you seen happy jews in israel, an american correspondent asked. +not rpt not a single one+, said/building engineer boris bravshstein. even those who are well-off are not rpt not sure of tomorrow+. item ends ++++++

Hager

in case

121

F - Emigration from USSR

or Jews - SU. 253

6

she also urged the united nations to exert all necessary efforts with the object of the early abolition of the savage system of apartheid in the republic of south africa and the complete national liberation of the peoples in the south of africa.
item ends +++++

= 22/1 tass 5-4 =

X

See also
Herald-T.

emigration from USSR
emigration 1 (one) two takes
moscow january 22 tass boris shumilin, the deputy minister of internal affairs of the USSR, said that questions related to emigration of soviet citizens to other countries were settled under the +regulations on entry in the USSR and exit from the USSR,+ +quite recently, he said, interviewed by a novosti press agency correspondent, these regulations were amended so as to simplify emigration procedure+

boris shumilin emphasised that the soviet rules for exit were in complete conformity with the international pact on civil and political rights. +it is but natural, he said, that restrictions we sometimes apply directly flow from the provisions of the pact. it says, specifically, that the right of man to travel from his country to another may be restricted in cases related to +protection of state security and public order+

boris shumilin said that by january first, 1976, exit decisions had been postponed only for 1.6 per cent of applications by jews, the most numerous category of applicants.
/more/

= 22/1 tass 5-4 =

emigration 2 (two)
the main reason for departure, shumilin pointed out, is to rejoin relatives. + most of such applications are made by jews whose families were disunited by world war two.+
the deputy minister cited figures for jewish emigration from the soviet union. since 1945 down to 1976, 122,000 people left for israel or, before its foundation, to palestine. emigration to israel in 1975 was half the figure for 1974.
last year, only 11,700 people left for israel.

the deputy minister cited letters from former soviet citizens who had travelled to israel and are now complaining over the lack of stability and security, vital usual privileges: guaranteed right to employment, free medical aid, cheap rents and free education. item ends ++++

= 22/1 tass 5-1 =

mountains cure heart
medicine 1 (one) two takes
frunze january 22 tass soviet scientists believe that mountains will become doctors' assistants in treating heart diseases. this conclusion was made on the basis of research conducted in kirghizia (central asia) over many years.

staff members of the institute of physiology and experimental pathology of high-altitude conditions, the academy

Mr Crick

James: SU

120

-13-

252

= 21/1 tass 28 =
washington january 21 tass it took the u.s. authorities almost eight years to make their first step for perpetuating the name of courageous fighter for the civil rights of black americans doctor martin luther king. the u.s. house of representatives voted for the appropriation of funds for installing in the capitol building of a bust of m.l.king, who was assassinated by racialists in 1968. this decision is subject to approval by the senate. item ends +++++

= 21/1 tass 6-8 =
statement by munyua waiyaki
lusaka january 21 tass the struggle against colonialism, racism and exploitation in africa's south proceeds at an increasing rate. triumph will doubtless be on the side of african peoples, in order to bring the triumph closer they must forget their differences and strengthen unity. this was stated by munyua waiyaki, kenyan minister of foreign affairs, visiting here.
kenya, he said, will not rpt not consider itself free until if only part of africa remains under colonial rule.
munyua waiyaki pointed to the successfully developing cooperation between kenya and zambia and expressed hope that cordial relations between the two peoples will develop and grow stronger. item ends +++++

= 21/1 tass 6-7 =.
people misled by zionists
victims 1 (one) three takes
moscow january 21 tass tass correspondent b. ruikovich writes:

X grigori rubenchik, former soviet citizen who worked as a journalist in minsk, forwarded his diary to the soviet embassy in washington, he was keeping this diary since he decided to emigrate from the soviet union at the end of 1974. +that was the most terrible mistake one can ever make+, he writes in his diary about his decision to leave the soviet union. +it is very, very said that i had to go through all my painful experiences to see the horror of what i had done. if only i could turn everything back exclamation+

grigori rubenchik does not rpt not write much about his life in the soviet union. but it is not rpt not hard to see even from his bried account how this 30-year-old man lived in the soviet union where he enjoyed full freedom and actual rights to education and work. +throughout my adult life i was studying and working. i finished a ten year school, then worked at a factory and studied at the university. / more /

-14-

= 21/1 tass 6-7 =
victims 2 (two)

+ i had all the necessary conditions for a full-blooded life+. the question arises: then why did rubenchik decide to leave his homeland?

on coming back home after serving in the soviet army rubenchik fell into the clutches of those who pose as +defenders of jewish interests+, as fighters +for the right for soviet jews to emigrate to israel+. he let zionists of the type of yefim davydovich persuade himself to leave the soviet union, it was only later when he met in italy another former soviet citizen, chertok -- who told him about the methods employed by zionist elements in the soviet union who are acting on instructions from israel -- that rubenchik began to realize that he had fallen into a trap. but he was already living in a foreign country and had lost everything he had before. it is indicative that on reaching america rubenchik, disenchanted and with no rpt no means of livelihood, met with no rpt no support from those who pretended to be defending his +rights+ when he was a soviet citizen. / more /

= 21/1 tass 6-7 =
victims 3 (three)

a similar fate was met by other jews who emigrated from the soviet union to the united states. in his diary rubenchik describes their life of frustration and hopelessness. they can get jobs only through a zionist organization. but +whatever jobs they are offered+, rubenchik writes, +they are paid miserable wages. one cannot live on such a pittance. and the emigrants who are offered such jobs are chiefly specialists with a secondary of a higher education+.

grigori rubenchik's diary is one more document exposing the selfstyled zionist +guardians+ who show hypocritical +concern+ about soviet jews. +my story+, he writes, +is a very instructive one for those who are going to leave their homeland+. on finding himself in the bourgeois +paradise+ rubenchik saw what a disastrous mistake he had made under the influence of zionist propaganda. +the only thing i ask +, he writes in his letter to the soviet embassy in the usa, +is permission to return to my homeland+. item ends ++++

Mick

gus:SD

119
250

- 24 -

the two sides fielded the following players. finland:
jarmo haavisto, mari kivihaara, timo serenius, olf sainio,
urho partanen, timo okkonen, esko holopainen, matti alatalo,
pekka vartiainen, veli pohjolainen, tapio tanninen,
seppo sarkima, veikko niemikorpi, eero hamari, and asko
eskola.

norway: berre tjauger, frude knutsen, olf anderson,
jan spellingen, gunnar tjest, roy wangen, preben kelsrud,
trom amundsen, roar tjansen, tore kristiansen, erling optjaug,
for henriksen, per knutsen, jon jogannesen, helge muen, albert
lindstroem, rein broten, item ends ++++++

= 27/1 tass 5-12 =

zionist illusions dashed

Letters 1 (one) three takes

X moscow january 27 tass the tass correspondent, boris ruikovich,
writes:

+influenced by zionist propaganda, my wife and i left
our genuine homeland, the soviet union, leaving behind my
children and old mother. in israel we understood that we had
fallen victim to zionist lies and deceit. the longer we lived
in the 'promised land', the clearer we realised that capita-
lism is a world of suffering, mockery, exploitation and
falsehood... it was with great difficulty that i found
a job working 12 or 13 hours daily. in the end, having saved
money for the air fare, i went to vienna hoping to return
home+. these passages are quoted from a letter written to a
soviet newspaper by boris bremler, who was born in odessa.
/more/

= 27/1 tass 5-12 =

Letters 2 (two)

bremler's fate is the fate of many jewish former citizens
of the ussr, who fell for the zionist bait and landed in
israel or the united states. they describe their suffering in
letters addressed to the soviet government, the presidium of
the supreme soviet of the ussr, editors of newspapers or maga-
zines, relatives and former neighbours.

+born and brought up in a socialist state, writes maria
zlotskaya about her son igor, who had gone to israel, he
was accustomed to soviet reality, to his native land, speech
and people. he could not rpt not reconcile himself to the
way of life in israel and the only meaning of life for him is
now repatriation to the ussr.+
/more/

= 27/1 tass 5-12 =

Letters 3 (three)

many letters point out that the situation in the
+promised land+ itself makes people shun each other. mutual
surveillance, denunciations and eaves dropping flourish
there. the contemptuous, hostile attitude to immigrants
from the ussr drives people to despair. all this is the
penalty for succumbing to the zionist dope.

Letters from emigrants are additional illustration to
news agency dispatches, reporting that the number of emigrants
from israel substantially increased last year, with

249c

- 25 -

some 80 per cent of them being young people, the causes of this flight are unprecedented high cost of living, the tax burden, the deteriorating economic situation, mounting unemployment, lack of confidence in the morrow and the aggressive militarist course of the tel aviv rulers. item ends +++++

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NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

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201.4.2 118
AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
TEL-AVIV 248



In reply quote No. 201/6/1

Memorandum No. 592

24 September 1975

~~The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA~~

EMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS

In the course of a conversation with Mr D. Adler, Head of the Economic Research Division and Adviser to the Minister in the Ministry of Immigration Absorption, a number of points emerged concerning the current situation with regard to the emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union.

2. Adler informed us that, until recently the majority of Soviet Jews emigrating to Israel had come from the Balkans and Georgia, and were often from small towns and villages whose Jewish communities formed a relatively high proportion of the total population. For these people, Adler said, the sense of identification with Judaism, Zionism and Israel has remained strong, so that when they succeeded in leaving the Soviet Union there were few who did not at least make a serious attempt to live in Israel and fewer still who "dropped out" along the way.

3. On the other hand, Adler said, those Jews living in the Ukraine and in Russia itself have been subjected to constant suppression and had always encountered vigorous reaction on the part of Soviet authorities to any Jewish activism. This, coupled with a greater dispersion of Jews in these areas (and, therefore, a greater propensity to assimilate), has meant that, for what is now the fourth generation growing up under communist rule, there is really not the same identification as exists for the other groups of Soviet Jews.

4. Adler claimed that the emigration restrictions for these more 'assimilated' Jews have now been relaxed relative to the controls placed on the other Jews. The result is that there has been a change in the composition

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of emigrants from the Soviet Union and it is this fact, Adler said, that is behind the dramatic upsurge in the "drop out" rate at Vienna. Of those Soviet Jews who arrive in Israel, the percentage who leave within the first three years has remained low and relatively constant (at 4 to 6 percent). Until recently, the percentage drop out rate at Vienna had been only one percent. But in the early 1970's it rose to nine percent and then 20 percent. In 1974 the figure was 35 percent and this year it is estimated that drop out rate will be 40 percent.

5. Adler broke these statistics down further to illustrate his point. While 40 percent of all Soviet Jews purportedly emigrating to Israel never arrive, the drop out rate for those from the Ukraine and Russia itself is over 50 percent and the rate for the four larger cities in this area (Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Odessa) is 75 percent.

6. Adler's claim was that these 'assimilated' Jews were really looking more for a way out of the Soviet Union than a wish to make 'Aliyah' to Israel. Further, he felt that the Soviet authorities have now a potentially powerful weapon to use against Soviet Jews. At the moment, the authorities seem content to let such emigration proceed, for while they are at least partially satisfying demands from Israel, the West and the Soviet Jews themselves, the emigrants are not reaching Israel as they were before. Moreover, the authorities can use these figures in the future to halt emigration totally on the grounds that if the Jews are using their 'Jewishness' not to go to Israel but rather just to leave the USSR then there will be a danger that other minority groups might demand similar treatment.

7. It seems to us that the percentage of Soviet Jews who leave Israel within the first three years of arrival may also be expected to show an increase, if Adler's ideas are correct. Mr Menachem Sherman, Director-General of the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption who recently returned from a visit to the United States announced that some 10,000 Soviet Jews have gone to the United States in recent years, either from Israel or before they arrive. According to Sherman's latest figures, one third of the groups now arriving in Vienna request to continue their way to the United States. From his contact with these Soviet Jews he too concluded that currently a significant proportion of emigrants from the USSR are now more concerned with professional and social advancement opportunities than Zionist fervor.

8. Copies of this memorandum have been sent to Australian Embassies in Washington and Moscow.

Australian Embassy, Moscow Memo: OP.310

National Archives of Australia

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Anthony J. Rottier
(A.J. Rottier)
NIA 10536, 2014/2 PART 3

246¹¹⁷
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201.4.2.

804

10 September 1975

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA A.C.T.

SOVIET ATTITUDES TO JEWISH EMIGRATION

TASS on 4 September 1975 carried an account of a Novosti article written by Ruvim Groyer.

2. The TASS item said that the figures of the Soviet Ministry of the Interior showed that 115,000 people of Jewish nationality left the Soviet Union for Israel (or Palestine) in the post-war period up to 1 June, 1975. According to TASS the number of applications from Soviet Jews wishing to go to Israel has decreased by almost two-thirds since the October 1973 war in the Middle East. The 1974 total of 16,000 Jewish emigrants was only half of the number of emigrants in 1973, and to 1 July this year only 1,400 applications were received.

3. Groyer states that many of those applying to emigrate change their minds and others who are already in Israel wish to return to the Soviet Union. He claims that throughout the post-war period only 1.5% of the total number of applicants were refused permission to go to Israel.

4. "Exit visas are refused only to persons who are in possession of information which constitutes state secrets, persons who underwent recent military training in the Soviet Army in major military fields, as well as persons serving prison terms for crimes they committed earlier", the TASS item continues. "In certain cases the emigration authorities, being guided by humanitarian considerations, meet the wishes of individual citizens who object to the emigration of their close relatives".

5. Groyer goes on to say that "such practices are in full agreement with the documents and recommendations of the U.N. Social Council and the Human Rights Commission which provide for emigration restrictions in case they affect national and public interests".

6. This restatement of the Soviet Union's position on emigration of Jews to Israel suggests that there will be no relaxation of emigration controls in the near future.

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(G.R. Towers)
Third Secretary

National Archives of Australia

NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

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~~Dr. T. J. ...~~

~~Menotti ...~~

- 19 -

= 4/9 tass 45 =

khartoum september 4 tass swollen rivers in the area of the town of kassala, on the sudanese-somalian frontier, washed away whole villages, leaving thousands of sudanese shelterless. an official report points to the seriousness of the aftermath of the flood in that area. kassala has been cut from the rest of the world for over a week. the railway that links the town with other parts of the country has been washed away and the airport is inundated. the flood inflicted a great material damage.
item ends +++++

= 4/9 tass 5-3 =

zionist hopes shattered
article 1 (one) five takes
moscow september 4 tass despite assertions by zionist propaganda there is no rpt no and has never been any +mass striving+ on the part of soviet jews to leave the soviet union, ruvim groyer, the journalist, writes in an article for the novosti press agency (apn).

according to the figures of the soviet ministry of the interior, 115,000 people of jewish nationality left the soviet union for israel (or for palestine before israel was established) in the post war period -- till june 1, 1975 inclusive, that is in the last thirty years. this is approximately 5 per cent of the total number of jews living in the soviet union.

following october 1973 (the period of the latest military events in the middle east) the number of applications from soviet jews willing to go to israel has deminished almost to one third, the article says. 2,200-2,300 applications for permission to leave for israel were filed monthly before september 1973 whereas the figure now is 850 applications a month.
/ more/

= 4/9 tass 5-3 =

article 2 (two)
in 1974, about 16,000 jews left the soviet union for israel which is only half the figure for 1973. on july 1, this year, corresponding soviet bodies had only 1,400 applications for exit visas submitted to them.

the article says that there are almost no rpt no applications for going to israel from 18 republics and regions of the soviet union including the volyn, zaporozhye, cherkassk, grodno and minsk regions where there is a considerable jewish population. there are no rpt no applications for departure for israel from the kirghiz, tajik and turkmen republics. not rpt not a single jew in the jewish autonomous republic has expressed a wish to go to israel.

not rpt not infrequently jews who applied for permission to leave for israel and who got such permission, decide to stay. thus, in 1973-1974, about 1,500 soviet jews did not rpt not use the permission to go to israel.
/ more/

- 20 -

= 4/9 tass 4-16 =

machinations of japanese banks
 scandal 1 (one) two takes
 tokyo september 4 tass tass correspondent mikhail
 demchenko reports:

109 branches of japanese banks and other financial organisations, which are agents of government corporations for crediting housing construction, have been caught in machinations, connected with the illegal issue of loans.

one of the biggest banks of the country, +daiichi kangio ginko+, was among the infringers. its branch in the chiba prefecture granted credits more than 100 times to building companies, which is strictly prohibited, since the corporation for crediting housing construction issues loans only by individual requests of persons. moreover, about 40 per cent of the credits, granted by this branch of the +daiichi kangio ginko+ bank, were spent not rpt not for the construction of housing but for other aims.

this scandal today is in the centre of attention of local press and the japanese public, the machinations connected with housing construction are giving rise to overall indignation in the country, since the shortage of housing remains an acute problem in japan. every third resident in tokyo, for instance, where ten per cent of the entire population of the country live, occupies an ill-equipped apartment.
 / more/

= 4/9 tass 4-16 =
 scandal 2 (two)

the ministry of construction the other day published the draft of a new five-year plan of housing construction for 1976-1980.

8,600,000 are planned to be built over the period. this is almost a million apartments less than in the previous five-year period. it should be mentioned here that the previous five-year plan, ending this year, proved to be unfulfilled. japan was compelled, as of last year, to considerable reduce the construction of housing in view of inflation and depression that hit the japanese economy. the tokyo municipality, for instance, did not rpt not build a single house during this year.

item ends +++++

= 4/9 tass 5-3 =
 article 3 (three)

some of the israeli citizens who came from the ussr, ask for permission to return to the soviet union and the number of such applications is increasing from year to year. in 1972 the soviet organs received about 200 such applications, in 1973-- 350 and in 1974 -- 808.

these figures clearly show, the article says, that the zionist's hope for the +exodus+ of soviet jews to the +promised land of their ancestors+ has failed to materialize.

is the reduction in the number of soviet jews going to israel due to the +kremlin's policy of jewish emigration restrictions+, as zionist propaganda claims? throughout the post-war period only 1,973 soviet jews, or 1.5 per cent

- 21 -

of the total number of applicants, were refused permission to go to israel, and this is recognized by the western press. it is precisely some of these persons who were refused exit visas that formed a small group which is widely played up in the west as +jewish activists+, +patriots of israel+, +prisoners of zion+, and the like.
/ more /

= 4/9 tass 5-3 =
article 4 (four)

what are they in fact? exit visas are refused only to persons who are in possession of information which constitutes state secrets, persons who underwent recently military training in the soviet army in major military fields, as well as persons serving prison terms for crimes they committed earlier.

in certain cases the emigration authorities, being guided by humanitarian considerations, meet the wishes of individual citizens who object to the emigration of their close relatives.

such practices are in full agreement with the documents and recommendations of the u.n. social council and the human rights commission which provide for emigration restrictions in case they affect national and public interests. the article also says that exit visa refusals are never final and that they may be reconsidered and are reconsidered in due course and people, as a rule, are allowed to leave.
/ more /

= 4/9 tass 5-3 =
article 5 (five)

the main reason behind the reduced number of soviet jews going to israel, the article says, is undoubtedly the fact that less and less people would like to go to that country. those of the jews who want to return to the soviet union unanimously mention only one reason -- the advantages of the soviet socialist system, the social incompatibility between the people who grew up and lived under socialism and the conditions of a different political and economic system.

the article says that certain zionist circles, on their look-out for +stray jewish souls+ from the soviet union, have begun sending to soviet jews false +invitations+ from israel. these +invitations+ are sent on behalf of non-existent relatives. thus, the humanitarian idea of family reunion is exploited by zionists for fraud and provocations.

such actions, ruvim groyer writes, can be qualified only as attempts to abuse the soviet state's humanitarian attitude to the question of family reunion, as encouragement by the israeli authorities of the forces which are using fraud and provocations to reach their own political aims.
item ends +++++

CONFIDENTIAL ¹¹⁶

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2 September 1975

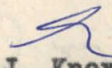
The Secretary
Department of Foreign Affairs
CANBERRA

(Attention: Immigration Section)

ENQUIRIES BY SOVIET OFFICIALS

Please refer to your cable O.CH260255 of
28 August 1975.

2. We assume little or no comment on the matter of Jewish immigrants from USSR to Australia is required from this Post. However your information Soviet Officials have not approached officers at this Mission. Should an approach be made we would of course inform the Department with full details immediately.


(G.J. Knox)
First Secretary
(Consular and Admin.)

CONFIDENTIAL

INWARD CABLEGRAM

From: *Canberra*

No.: 168

Received: 28-8-75

CONFIDENTIAL

LDU282

CLE339

O.CH260255 1319 28.8.75 CLA

TO.
RR ALL POSTS/168

FM. CANBERRA / FILE 1632/22

C O N F I D E N T I A L

ENQUIRIES BY SOVIET OFFICIALS.

PLEASE ADVISE BY MEMORANDUM MARKED "ATTENTION IMMIGRATION SECTION" WHETHER SOVIET OFFICIALS HAVE SOUGHT INFORMATION FROM FOREIGN AFFAIRS OR IMMIGRATION OFFICERS (OR OTHER OFFICERS AS APPROPRIATE) AT YOUR POST ABOUT JEWISH IMMIGRANTS FROM USSR TO AUSTRALIA.

XC. O.CH260255 1319 28.8.75 168 1632/22

CM.

No they have not.

NNNN

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-31-

= 27/8 tass 40 =

berlin august 27 tass a delegation of the popular movement for the liberation of angola (mpla) led by i. carreira, member of the mpla steering committee, has ended its visit to the gdr where it stayed at the invitation of the supg central committee, during talks the delegations of the mpla and the supg, discussed the international situation and the further development of bilateral ties between the supg and the mpla.

they discussed sallies by the counter-revolution against the democratic development of portugal and expressed solidarity with the portuguese communist party and all the portuguese patriots in their struggle against reaction and for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary forces.

item ends +++++

= 27/8 tass 5-19 =

slanderers

trial 1 (one) three takes

moscow august 27 tass tass commentator valery

jalagoniya writes:

certain bourgeoisie newspapers are circulating false reports about + malkin's trial in moscow+. they allege that this trial testifies to-- + discrimination+ against persons of jewish nationality in the soviet union.

valentina tsygankova, chairman of the bauman people's court in moscow, told the tass correspondent that anatoli malkin's case was really heard in court of tuesday, august 26. this former student was charged with evading a draft for military service, i.e. an offense mentioned in article 80 part one of the criminal code of the russian federation. during the trial which was held in the presence of representatives of the public and the defendant's parents, malkin's guilt was fully proved and he was sentenced to a three-year prison term.

/ more/

= 27/8 tass 5-19 =

trial 2 (two)

in their statements in court the defendant's father, scientific worker vladimir malkin and his mother lidia malkina, a lawyer who heads a department at one of moscow's institutions, deplored the behaviour of their son who had broken the soviet law. they explained this by the fact that anatoli malkin found himself lately under the corrupting influence of certain persons. + these persons are not rpt not in the dock

today beside my son but it is they who have brought him here+, lidia malkina said.

/ more/

239

-32-

= 27/8 tass 5-19 =
trial 3 (three)

all people stand equal before the soviet laws, irrespective of their nationality or views, said valentina tsygankova, people of all nationalities living in the soviet union enjoy absolutely equal rights and have identical duties which include specifically service in the army, by the way, draft evasion is a criminal offence in most of the countries, as to reports published in certain western newspapers after mal'kin's trial, they can be qualified as calumnies.

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NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

238
RESTRICTED 114

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704

15 August 1975

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA

SOVIET JEWS

....

Attached is a copy of an article which may be of some interest. If nothing else it is a good example of the standard of Soviet journalism of the sort used when the Soviets feel the need (as they do often) to lash out at enemies of the USSR.

2. The question of Jewish emigration has become a fairly stagnant issue inasmuch as the Soviet position has not changed for many months. During a visit to the USSR of a Congressional delegation, the Soviets showed no inclination to offer any hope of change in their policies towards Jewish emigration.

(R.G. Crick)
First Secretary

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Monday, August 11, 1975

237
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5

ZIONESE TWINS

O. Barsov

The plane dexterously touched the concrete runway. It was wet and slippery on that February day. Having confidently made its three-point landing, the plane roared with its engines for a while, sharply reduced its speed, and taxied to the parking area. "Good bye, Do svidaniya," the polite stewardess kept saying to the American tourists that were descending the gangway. "We are hoping that you will like Leningrad."

Indeed, can anyone claim he did not like the beautiful city on the Neva, its lacy bridges hovering over the magnificent river, the elegant Winter Palace, the golden-domed St. Isaac's Cathedral, and the spire of the Admiralty piercing the sky like a rocket?

The tourists had no time, of course, to contemplate with sufficient concentration the masterpieces of the Hermitage and the Russian Museum, to stroll unhurriedly along the embankments and the quiet back streets covered with the cobblestones of centuries gone by. Back in the plane they exchanged their impressions, showed the souvenirs they had purchased at Gostinny Dvor and very much regretted having had to leave so soon the wonderful city and its no less wonderfully cordial residents...

Two of the group abstained from the generally lively conversation. The pair, a man and a woman, were sitting gloomy and watchful, and shuddered each time a passenger came in, as if they were expecting something unpleasant. Only when the plane began to gain altitude did they apparently calm down a little, took out their notebooks, and began to talk in low voices.

Why were they so greatly worried?

The pair, Ines Weisman and Aron Wayn had had a rather unpleasant talk at the Soviet customs. When they had arrived piles of Zionist and anti-Soviet pamphlets were discovered in their trunks; when they were leaving the pamphlets had been replaced by tape recordings about the "reprisals" meted out against the Jewish population in the Soviet Union. Both Ines Weisman and Aron Wayn had come on their "tourist" trip with rather special purposes. They did not care to see the unique Hermitage collections, nor the magnificent fountains of Petrodvorets. From early morning till late at night they kept running around the city in search of "Zionist brothers and sisters persecuted and humiliated by the Soviet regime".

Who are these "fact-finders"? Ines is the president of the associated committees for Soviet Jews. Aron Wayn is its executive member. The association has been recently established in the United States under the aegis of international Zionism. The envoys

Monday, August 11, 1975

5

- 2 -

of the openly anti-Soviet organization came to the Soviet Union shortly before the Jewish Passover (Easter) in order to avail themselves of the religious holiday for propaganda purposes. They had to part with the Zionist pamphlets at the Soviet customs, much to their regret. But their portable tape-recorders remained. "You are not permitted to leave for Israel, are you?" Ines demanded of a frightened old woman at the synagogue, thrusting the microphone to her mouth. "They deprive you of bonuses and you are not promoted because you are a Jew, is it not so?" Aron was persuading a chance companion. However, not all the interviews were accidental. In the notebooks of Mrs. Weisman and Mr. Wayn there were several coded addresses of Leningrad flats. In one such flat they had a "top secret" meeting with Jewish dissidents, which reminded one greatly of the adventures of the famous undaunted rascal Ostap Bender from the book by Ilf and Petrov.

Those who attended the secret gathering made their way to the apartment, as befits the occasion, cautiously, observing all the norms of conspiracy. Ines Weisman performed the duties of the "brain trust" and "father of democracy". She delivered a speech and issued instructions. Aron Wayn acted as secretary. As distinct from the scene described in the above-mentioned book by Ilf and Petrov ("12 Chairs"), the visitors from overseas did not collect small sums of money but, on the contrary, distributed them as an once only handout to "brothers" in the hope of "close future cooperation and mutual understanding".

What was President Ines Weisman dwelling upon? Namely the news that Zionists in the United States were planning a large-scale reorganization of the "committees for 'freedom of Soviet Jewry'" to narrow their specialization. The committee in Florida, for example, will deal exclusively, according to the authors of the reform, with Zionist and anti-Soviet literature which will be smuggled into the Soviet Union. The committee in Pennsylvania will be responsible for disseminating information among Americans (or rather misinformation) about the "oppressed life of Soviet Jews". The committee in Washington will concentrate its efforts mainly on finding ways and means to exercise a more effective influence on the White House and Congress. Their colleagues in New York are intending to deal with tourists leaving for the Soviet Union, providing them with "instructions".

The tourists, Ines explained, will be divided in three categories. Tourists as such, who will travel with scientists, businessmen, etc., will be given very "simple" assignments: to take along a few letters in order to post them in Moscow, Leningrad and other Soviet cities and towns; to meet dissatisfied people and take their addresses; to visit synagogues; to talk, listen, watch... Americans collaborating with Zionist organizations will do something more complicated: they will meet certain people secretly, supply them with sums of money brought specially for the purpose, pick up candidates for "extra-mural" Zionist membership, try to talk Soviet Jews into leaving for Israel -- especially those

Monday, August 11, 1975

235

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- 3 -

with scientific degrees and who are employed at Soviet research institutions or big industrial enterprises... The third category of "tourists", consisting of executive members of US Zionist organizations, will meet only "leaders".

In the flat in Leningrad Ines and Aron laboured under the impression of having met such "leaders". Those who had fallen in the trap, however, were thinking frantically of how to get away as soon as they had heard appeals considered to be an offence against the Soviet Criminal Code. Ines realised that her mission had failed. In a state of helpless anger, not knowing how else she could annoy the hospitable Leningraders, she... left her hotel room dirty before checking out. Here is an excerpt from the official statement drawn up by the management of the Hotel Oktyabrskaya, which was handed over to the US General Consul in Leningrad: "Before leaving Leningrad Ines Weisman, an American tourist, left her room in an anti-sanitary condition. She relieved herself on the carpet, and spread her excrement..." Swinishness, isn't it? Disgusting to write about. What are we to do, however, if such "leaders" are at the helm of the association of committees for Soviet Jews? The best representatives of international Zionism, mind you...

No, never have we identified Jews and Zionists. Jews as such are not Zionists, and not all Zionists are Jews. In the United States, by the way, according to Mrs. Weisman, a new committee is being formed that will unite representatives of the Zionist organizations and other nationalistic, religious, etc., groupings which are coming out against the USSR. The devil may have big horns and no one will mind, provided his visiting card acknowledges his anti-Soviet feelings.

Zionist proponents are trying to crawl into the Soviet Union like cockroaches through all possible holes; International tourism is for them a very convenient channel. Zionist tourists appear under all sorts of garbs but with one single purpose: to fan up nationalistic and emigration feelings, to circulate anti-Soviet and Zionist literature, and to carry out other "delicate" missions.

On January 18, 1975, the Voice of America, and later the BBC broadcast "sensational" news that two young Jews had been evicted from the Soviet Union in connection with their desire to serve (voluntarily) the sentence for Dr. Stern.

The Voice was more objective than the BBC because it added that Dr. Stern had been accused by the Soviet court of taking grafts and being negligent to his patients.

Mikhail Isaevich Stern lived in Vinnitsa, and held the post of head doctor at the regional endocrinological hospital without having the needed qualifications. To make a long story short, he was a fully fledged swindler with remarkable commercial talent.

Monday, August 11, 1975

5 234

- 4 -

He took bribes, sold stolen medicine, and cheated very ill patients by treating them "privately" of ailments he knew absolutely nothing about. Having investigated the case, and on the basis of testimonies of more than 50 witnesses, the court sentenced Stern and he is now serving his sentence in a not too distant locality.

Some volunteers overseas have suddenly expressed an ardent desire to save the "innocent victim". An American student Freund Jelad and a British student Joseph Ailey, two rather dishevelled young men, paid a visit to the Reception Office of the Ministry for Internal Affairs in Moscow and asked to be put in prison instead of Dr. Stern and divide his sentence in half. Naturally, nothing came out of their silly provocative attempts. Even the correspondent of the American Associated Press agency, to whom the Zionist rascals gave an interview in front of the Central Telegraph in Moscow, was forced to admit that the whole story resembled a Hollywood script and was nothing but an attempt at getting publicity. He came to the conclusion that both young men had been treated quite fairly.

The same reception was accorded to American tourists James Land, Frank Winston, Jacqueline Hope, Richard Valerian and Jequez de Lorc, who came to the Soviet Union with a tourist group from the association of Californian lawyers. These tourists broke into the building of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation during the trial of a Jewish nationalist and demanded taking part in the proceedings. They created a scandal, swore, shouted, and insulted Soviet people. They were politely requested to leave the building. Actually, there was every ground to deny them entry in the country since Zionist publications, lists of Soviet citizens' addresses, and other far from "tourist" articles had been discovered in their bags. The indecent behaviour of these Zionists made everyone else in their group very angry. Well-known Californian lawyer Mr. Light declared that although he did not like everything in our country and was not a champion of communism, he had come as a tourist and was completely satisfied with the programme. He declared that some members of their group did not know apparently what they wanted. As a lawyer, he felt ashamed of them and their behaviour on the territory of a foreign country. He had never heard of lawyer Winston, and never met him. If only he was actually on the list of US lawyers, he, Mr. Light, was going to raise the question of throwing him out since he had disgraced his professional calling.

(Nedelya No.28, 1975. Abridged.)

THE END

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RP. INFORMATION POSTS (REPEATED TO)							
RR	WASHINGTON	/	173	LONDON	/	670	
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Security classification		CONFIDENTIAL					
Subject heading		JEWS IN USSR					

The question of Jewish emigration was discussed at length by the US Congressmen who have just visited the USSR and sometimes some sharp words were exchanged. But when Brezhnev saw them in Yalta he put on all his charm and the Congressmen thanked him for their reception and for allowing them to meet some Jewish figures concerned. But the Congressmen made it clear that in the absence of progress on Jewish emigration Congress would not move on MFN or credits. Congressman Brademas also said to the USSR that he believed that emigration might lead to the whole policy of detente coming under challenge in next year's elections.

2. The US Ambassador (Stoessel) has told me:

- (a) President Ford raised the matter with Brezhnev and got nowhere. The standard USSR line to Ford and the Congressmen and others continues to be that anyone who wishes to leave can do so subject to security safeguards and that most Jews do not want to leave

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18.8.75

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- 2 -

and the USSR authorities will not force them to do so against their will. The USSR also of course maintains it is a matter of domestic jurisdiction.

- (b) The US Embassy in consultation with the Embassy here of the Netherlands (which handle emigration to Israel) has estimated at 100,000 the number of Jews wanting to emigrate from the USSR. If all of them decided to emigrate it is possible that some of the remaining over two million might decide they wished to do so too.
- (c) Strossel expects that the rate of emigration allowed will be about 12,000 a year.
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- 3 -

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- PLIMSOLL

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To: ~~Washington~~ Canberra
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Confidential

230

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PLIMSOLL

The lists were prepared by the National Council of Jews in the USA.

PLIMSOLL

112
228

201.4.2

OP.128

12 August 1975

Australian Embassy,
PARIS

SOVIET JEWS

(Your file 840/69/143)

Thank you for your memorandum OP272 of 23 July 1975 and for the publications attached to it. There are, as you might expect, many publications on the problems of Soviet Jews. We already receive some in English which keep us reasonably up to date with the relevant people and events. At the moment we do not think we could make full use of such publications as attached to your memo.

(R.G. Crick)
First Secretary



201. 4. 2
227 ¹¹⁵

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
84-86, AVENUE D'IÉNA
75116 PARIS



23 July 1975

File No: 840/69/143
(ex 225/15/1/3)

Memo No: 0/272

Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW.

SOVIET JEWS.

✓

We attach two publications in French concerning the condition of Jews in the Soviet Union.

2. Booklets such as these are received at the Embassy from time to time. Please advise whether you would be interested in having them forwarded on to you.

(Sue Baldwin)
Second Secretary.

~~Mr. Crick~~

LES JUIFS EN UNION SOVIETIQUE

BULLETIN D'INFORMATION

21

MAI 1975

dans ce numéro

FAITS ET CHIFFRES

- ☐ VIOLATIONS DE LA LOI POUR DECOURAGER
LES CANDIDATS A L'EMIGRATION
- ☐ MENACES D'ISOLEMENT TOTAL

DOSSIER

Remarques à propos d'un article de D. Joukov

- ☐ UN MONUMENT DE CALOMNIE ANTISEMITE
- ☐ D. JOUKOV RECIDIVE : « LE SIONISME SANS FARD »

Un récit inédit de Victor Nékrassov

C'est à la faveur d'une œuvre littéraire — un récit écrit par Victor Nekrassov — qu'il nous est aujourd'hui donné de pénétrer l'univers des candidats à l'émigration. Un ingénieur, un Juif, un communiste, un retraité, choisit de partir rejoindre ses parents en Israël. Il s'apercevra très vite que ce choix signifie la déchéance, le long et douloureux périple du rejet qui se terminera — mais à quel prix — par un visa parvenu trop tard... entre-temps, la mort l'aura frappé.

Ce récit a été écrit en 1971. Le mouvement d'émigration en était alors à ses débuts et, à la surprise suscitée devant l'ampleur de l'élan, se mêlait l'espoir de voir la détente et l'ouverture s'affirmer. Aujourd'hui, quatre ans plus tard, on se trouve devant une situation extrêmement grave, voire critique. Le mouvement d'émigration se heurte à une opposition de plus en plus farouche, hargneuse et sournoise, et d'autant plus dangereuse qu'elle s'accompagne d'une recrudescence de l'antisémitisme.

En ce qui concerne l'émigration, les chiffres sont éloquentes :

En 1971, 13 000 personnes étaient autorisées à quitter l'URSS.

En 1972, ce nombre atteignait 31 000.

En 1973, il s'élevait à 33 000.

A partir de 1974, commence la baisse : la moyenne mensuelle tombe de 3 000 à 1 700 départs. Or, en janvier 1974, la moyenne mensuelle n'est plus que de 900 départs.

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Ces chiffres, dans leur rigueur, impliquent la répression. Et comment pourrait-on obtenir autrement que soit freiné ce mouvement dont la légalité ne saurait être contestée. C'est donc aux violations de la loi que l'on a recours et, dans ce domaine, les possibilités s'avèrent illimitées. Notre rubrique « Faits et Chiffres » en apporte la preuve. Qu'à ces harcèlements, arrestations, menaces et procès viennent s'ajouter les dangers d'un isolement total, comme en témoigne la lettre ouverte à l'Association Internationale des Télécommunications que nous publions aujourd'hui, et l'on peut imaginer combien l'heure est éprouvante pour ceux qui ont choisi la voie du départ, et menaçante pour ceux qui envisageaient de le faire.

Il suffira d'évoquer ici

Quelques procès récents : A Vinnitza, le docteur Mikhail Stern est condamné le 31 décembre 1974 à huit ans de travaux forcés pour « corruption et pots de vin », bien que la plupart des témoins cités par l'accusation aient déposé en sa faveur. A Benderi, Sender Levinson vient d'être jugé. Il avait demandé à émigrer en 1972. Il vient d'être condamné à six ans d'internement pour spéculation. A Moscou, pour avoir participé pendant quelques minutes à une manifestation pacifique, Mark Neshpitz et Boris Tsiflionok sont condamnés à cinq ans d'exil, quelque part dans les froids fonds de la Sibérie.

De nombreuses menaces de procès : Le K.G.B. fait actuellement peser de très graves menaces d'inculpation sur les exclus de la science, tels Mark Azbel, Alexandre Luntz, Vitaly Rubin et bien d'autres encore. Il n'est même plus besoin d'avoir demandé à émigrer : il suffit d'être en possession d'un exemplaire de la publication « Les Juifs soviétiques par eux-mêmes », revue consacrée à l'histoire, à la culture et aux problèmes des Juifs en URSS, pour être la proie des griffes du KGB. C'est ce qui vient d'arriver à Ralal Nubelman, Isaac Gendis et Sarah Shapiro de Moscou. Aussi est-il vrai qu'une procédure pénale vient d'être entamée contre cette publication dont nous connaissons, pour l'avoir lue, le caractère purement culturel.

Mais le fait même de se pencher avec sympathie sur le patrimoine juif est dangereux, à l'heure où les colonnes de la presse s'ouvrent largement pour dénoncer le judaïsme sous toutes ses formes, le prétexte d'antisémitisme étant même de plus en plus souvent négligé. L'article de Dimitri Joukov que nous publions aujourd'hui n'est qu'un exemple parmi bien d'autres.

Devant une telle situation, il est temps que l'opinion publique retrouve son souffle, et fasse entendre sa voix.

Violations des lois

pour décourager les candidats au départ

L'histoire de l'émigration massive des Juifs d'URSS vers Israël ne date que de trois ans. Mais déjà l'expérience accumulée durant cette courte période se prête à l'analyse. Comme tout phénomène social nouveau, elle s'est heurtée à des difficultés d'ordre économique et moral. Cela est fort compréhensible, et il n'y a pas lieu de s'en alarmer. Mais de sérieuses inquiétudes s'élevaient devant les violations répétées des règlements internationaux et de la législation intérieure auxquelles se livrent les autorités soviétiques à l'encontre des candidats à l'émigration.

Nous voudrions porter la discussion sur les violations de la loi qui sont perpétrées dans le but effectif d'élever des obstacles sérieux, et parfois insurmontables, à l'émigration. Au cours des dernières années nous avons eu d'amples preuves qu'en URSS les questions relatives à l'émigration ne sont pas réglées conformément à la loi, mais selon des instructions très souvent verbales et, la plupart du temps, secrètes.

1) L'individu qui veut déposer sa demande pour émigrer doit au préalable recevoir une invitation d'Israël, émanant d'un proche parent. Dès ce premier stade sont enregistrées des violations de la Constitution de l'URSS concernant le secret de la correspondance. Par exemple, l'invitation n'est pas remise à l'intéressé parce que son courrier est censuré (l'invitation adressée à Valery Panov de Leningrad a été retenue pendant huit mois, celle d'Elhan Finkelstein de Sverdlovsk pendant deux ans). Les exemples en sont nombreux. Cette pratique de non-délivrance du courrier et de violation des règlements postaux par l'URSS a été portée devant les tribunaux en 1974, à Tbilissi, au procès qui a suivi la plainte déposée par Grigory et Isaïa Goldstein.

2) Pour qu'une demande d'émigration soit recevable, les autorités exigent qu'elle soit accompagnée d'un certificat des parents (si ceux-ci continuent à demeurer en URSS) donnant leur accord au départ de leurs enfants, fussent-ils majeurs. Ce qui est une violation de l'article 55 du Code du mariage et de la famille qui stipule : « Le consentement des parents à une résidence distincte pour leurs enfants

n'est exigible que pour les mineurs ».

3) En violation de l'article 124 de la Constitution qui garantit la liberté de conscience, des débats publics sont tenus sur les lieux de travail à propos de l'intention manifestée par un membre de l'entreprise de quitter l'URSS.

4) En violation de l'article 118 de la Constitution qui garantit le droit au travail, la grande majorité des candidats à l'émigration perdent leur emploi et il leur est ensuite virtuellement impossible d'en trouver un nouveau dans la même branche. C'est ainsi que des scientifiques et des spécialistes qualifiés sont contraints de faire un travail manuel faute de toute autre possibilité professionnelle.

5) La loi est violée lorsque des candidats à l'émigration sont exclus des associations professionnelles et des syndicats dont ils étaient membres (c'est le cas de Malik et de Svirsky à Moscou, de Vodovoz à Tachkent), ou lorsqu'ils sont privés de leurs titres honorifiques ou professionnels (ainsi pour Panov et pour Alexandrovitch).

6) Lorsque la demande d'émigration est agréée, les autorités exigent le versement d'une somme de 500 roubles par membre de la famille émigrante âgée de plus de seize ans, ceci pour « abandon de la citoyenneté soviétique ». Cette exigence est une violation du décret 803 du Conseil des ministres de l'URSS du 22 septembre 1970 qui stipule, au paragraphe 19-c, la perception d'une somme de 500 roubles « pour toute demande de renonciation à la citoyenneté soviétique ». L'initiative de ces renonciations ne venant pas des Juifs qui souhaitent émigrer en Israël, cette disposition n'a donc pas lieu de leur être appliquée.

7) Conformément au décret du Présidium du Soviet Suprême de l'URSS en date du 12 avril 1968, tout recours d'un citoyen après d'une instance gouvernementale doit être examiné dans le délai d'un mois. Or, il n'est pas rare que, dans le cas des demandes d'émigration pour Israël, ce délai soit sans raison étre jusqu'à un an et même plus. Le même décret prescrit que toute plainte adressée à des

instances supérieures contre des échelons subalternes ne peut être transmise à ces derniers aux fins de réponse. Or, dans le cas des plaintes formulées par des Juifs contre les décisions du ministère de l'intérieur, les violations de cette provision ne se comptent plus.

8) Le fait que le demandeur n'est jamais informé autrement que verbalement de l'agrement de sa requête donne aux autorités la possibilité de revenir plus facilement sur la décision adoptée (c'est ce qui se produisait pour la famille de Victor Lapidus en 1972).

9) En violation de la loi sur les pensions, les citoyens partant pour Israël reçoivent un ultime versement égal à six mois de pension, après quoi celle-ci est suspendue.

10) En violation de la législation nationale, les détenteurs de titres d'Emprunt d'Etat qui sont candidats à l'émigration ne peuvent en obtenir le remboursement.

11) En violation du droit des citoyens à la propriété, des prélèvements arbitraires sont opérés sur les biens que les émigrants en puissance souhaitent emporter.

12) La liste des violations s'allonge encore à l'encontre de ceux qui n'ont pas été autorisés à émigrer :

a - En premier lieu, ils perdent leur emploi, en résultat direct de leur demande d'émigration pour Israël. Ils sont ensuite contraints automatiquement de prendre un travail non qualifié (c'est une obligation pour quiconque a chômé depuis quatre mois). Qu'ils refusent cet emploi, ou qu'ils ne soient pas physiquement en mesure de l'assumer, et ils sont alors traduits en justice pour « parasitisme », conformément à l'article 209 du Code pénal de la R.S.F.S.R., bien que selon la lettre et l'esprit de cette loi elle ne doive s'appliquer qu'à ceux qui mènent une vie parasitaire et anti-sociale. Nous pouvons citer, à cet égard, l'exemple de Leonid Zabelshenky, condamné à Sverdlovsk à un an de privation de liberté aux termes de cette accusation.

b - A de rares exceptions près, lorsque des jeunes gens sont candidats au départ, ils se voient privés de la possibilité de poursuivre leurs études universitaires. Ceci constitue une violation de l'article 121 de la Constitution garantissant le droit à l'instruction. Ainsi Ludmila Kornfeld a été exclue de l'Université en 1971 en raison de son « désir d'aller en Israël ».

c - Une autre catégorie de citoyens — les retraités et, en particulier, les pensionnés de l'armée — risquent, leur demande ayant été repoussée pour une période indéterminée, à l'émigration.

de voir leur pension suspendue. Citons à ce propos le cas de plusieurs Juifs de Minsk (Alshansky, Ovshitzer, Zevin) et, à Novossibirsk, celui de Poltinnikov.

13) Etant donné que le traitement des Juifs désireux d'émigrer en Israël n'est pas régi par la loi mais par la procédure administrative, leur vie personnelle, leur liberté et leur sécurité sont entièrement sous la mainmise du KGB. Celui-ci, sans apparaître en tant que tel, contrôle en fait les décisions du ministère de l'intérieur, de la milice, des comités exécutifs locaux et des institutions mineures.

a - Conformément aux instructions du KGB, les lignes téléphoniques privées sont mises sur table d'écoute puis coupées. C'est ainsi que, pendant ces deux dernières années, cinquante lignes téléphoniques de Juifs désireux d'émigrer en Israël ont été suspendues. La mise sur table d'écoute a même été matériellement prouvée lors du procès de V. Markman à Sverdlovsk, en 1972.

b - Les garanties constitutionnelles de l'inviolabilité du domicile sont souvent bafouées. La porte des appartements de Juifs est forcée lorsqu'il s'agit de procéder à l'arrestation de leurs occupants (il en fut ainsi chez Kogan, Slepak, Rubin et beaucoup d'autres). Le KGB procède également à des arrestations « préventives » absolument émotives.

Cela peut aussi bien se passer dans la rue qu'au domicile des personnes, et celles-ci sont détenues sans être informées, comme le prescrit la loi, des charges qui pèsent contre elles. Au surplus ont été introduites les arrestations à domicile, procédure que ne prévoit nulle part la législation soviétique.

c - Les plaintes adressées par les Juifs au bureau du Procureur pour procédures illégales sont généralement rejetées pour « non-confirmation des faits à l'examen ».

d - En violation du Code de Procédure pénale de la R.S.F.S.R. le ministère de l'intérieur, s'appuyant sur des témoignages fallacieux, fabrique des procès contre les Juifs et les condamne pour des délits dont ils sont innocents. Il suffit de rappeler, à ce sujet, le procès de A. Feldman à Kiev, en 1973, et celui de Yavor en 1972.

e - Les procès des Juifs accusés de soi-disant délits sont tenus à huis clos. Même les parents des accusés n'y sont pas admis (procès Feldman, à Kiev). Cela constitue une violation de l'article 18 du Code de procédure pénale de la R.S.F.S.R.

f - En violation de l'article 126 de la Constitution, prévoyant la liberté de réunion, beaucoup de Juifs ont été arrêtés pour avoir pris part à des manifestations de protestation pacifiques contre les restrictions mises aux droits à l'émigration.

FAITS ET CHIFFRES

Menacés d'isolement total

« Le téléphone est, pour les activistes, la ligne de la vie... Ils attendent ces communications téléphoniques pour entendre la voix de leurs collègues, de leurs amis, pour être rassurés sur cette solidarité qui les aide à vivre et à combattre » (Témoignage de K. Henkin à sa sortie d'URSS, décembre 1973).

La lettre ouverte adressée en mai 1975 par des candidats au départ à l'Union internationale des Télécommunications, à Genève, prouve à quel point la situation s'est détériorée dans ce domaine.

« Nous nous adressons à vous par une lettre ouverte car c'est la seule voie par laquelle nous espérons pouvoir vous atteindre. Malgré le prestige qui est attaché au nom de votre organisation, il ne nous est pas possible de vous envoyer une lettre par la poste, pas plus que nous ne pouvons vous téléphoner.

Les autorités ont introduit la censure dans les communications de téléphone à partir de 1972, à la veille de la visite en URSS du Président Nixon. C'est à cette époque que des dizaines de lignes furent soudain interrompues chez des Juifs de Moscou candidats à l'émigration. Les centrales téléphoniques prétendaient alors que ces ruptures de lignes étaient dues à des défaillances techniques (mauvais équipement, câbles rompus, etc.). Le temps passait, mais ces « défaillances » n'étaient pas réparées et d'autres lignes de téléphone connaissaient le même sort. Les nombreuses plaintes adressées au Ministère des Télécommunications par les abonnés en question demeuraient sans réponse.

Afin de légaliser ces ruptures de lignes, les autorités ont promulgué un décret datant du 31 août 1972, en vertu duquel l'article 74 était ajouté à la réglementation des télécommunications de l'URSS. D'après celui-ci, il est interdit d'utiliser les lignes interurbaines et internationales dans des buts contraires aux intérêts de l'Etat et à l'ordre public. En cas de violation de cette réglementation, les services des télécommunications sont habilités soit à interrompre la ligne de l'abonné, soit à la couper définitivement.

Ainsi, non seulement la coupure de ligne est devenue une mesure légale, mais elle implique également l'existence des services d'écoutes.

Une fois les difficultés légales surmontées, les services d'écoutes furent à même de donner des instructions précises quant aux abonnés dont les lignes devaient être supprimées. C'est à partir de cette époque que la coupure de ligne devint une pratique communément appliquée. A la suite de la rencontre entre Brejnev et Ford, en novembre 1974,

un nombre non négligeable d'abonnés fut privé de téléphone. Alors, pour que sévisse une rupture de ligne, il n'était même plus besoin que la conversation avec un abonné de l'étranger se réalise, le fait même d'en attendre une suffisait.

A Moscou, en janvier 1975, six lignes de téléphone étaient coupées. En février : 8 lignes. En mars, il n'y eut aucune mesure de ce genre pour la bonne raison qu'il ne restait plus de lignes à couper. En effet, au cours des trois années passées, un total d'environ 150 abonnés avaient vu leur ligne supprimée.

En conséquence, alors que les efforts déployés par les Etats pour instaurer la détente battaient le plein, alors que se préparait la conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe, nous étions déjà isolés de nos parents et amis de l'étranger, coupés de tous ceux qui s'intéressaient à notre sort et soutenaient nos efforts pour réaliser notre droit à l'émigration.

... Lorsque nos protestations pacifiques contre le fait d'être maintenus illégalement contre notre gré en URSS aboutissaient à des arrestations, les communications téléphoniques étaient l'unique recours que nous avions pour obtenir des informations sûres de notre pays, de nos familles et de nos amis, et de les informer à notre tour de notre situation. Aujourd'hui, on nous fait savoir que le fait de communiquer à l'étranger des informations concernant notre sort est « contraire aux intérêts de l'Etat ».

Nous espérons que l'Union internationale des Télécommunications voudra bien accorder toute son attention au problème de l'arbitraire dans les télécommunications, dont nous sommes les victimes. Nous nous permettons d'insister sur le fait qu'une intervention de votre part constituerait non seulement une défense de la légalité, mais serait aussi un acte humanitaire. »

SIGNATAIRES : Iosif Begun, Léonid Koshevoy, Alexandre Givinter, Vladimir Prastin, Lydia Korenfeld, Tamara Galperina, Boris Tokar, Boris Fiskin, Grigory Vygdarov, Grigory Yandlovitch, Alexandre Lunis, Deborah Samoilovitch, Nathan Tolchinsky, Semion Andursky, Mikhail Kremen, Victor Lapidus, Elim Tsitskin, Dimitry Ramm, Victor Fayermark, Youli Kosharovskiy, Pavel Abramovitch, Ilya Essas, Igor Abramovitch, Emmanuel Luria, Mikhail Shepelev, Felix Kandel, Victor Brailovsky, Vladimir Stepak.

UN RÉCIT INÉDIT DE VICTOR NEKRASSOV

C'est un moment privilégié pour un bulletin qui se consacre aux problèmes des Juifs d'U.R.S.S. que de publier un récit tel que celui que nous présentons aujourd'hui à nos lecteurs.

En effet, publier le récit d'un écrivain soviétique, exprimant sympathie et compréhension à l'égard d'un Juif demandant à émigrer en Israël, est un événement unique en son genre.

Aussi est-il vrai qu'il s'agit d'une nouvelle écrite par Victor Nekrassov, dont l'indépendance d'esprit s'est manifestée en toutes circonstances. Nekrassov doit, sans doute, être rattaché à une lignée exceptionnelle d'écrivains, une certaine intelligentsia libérale qui a fleuri justement à contre-courant, dans une région où sévissaient et sévissent encore un nationalisme exacerbé et un antisémitisme des plus virulents.

Tels Boulgakov et Paoustovski, Nekrassov est originaire de Kiev. Il est né en 1911 dans une famille d'intellectuels. Il a d'abord fait des études d'architecture, puis s'est adonné au théâtre. Mais à Stalingrad, au cœur de la deuxième guerre mondiale, c'est à son savoir initial que l'on a recours. Il est officier du génie. Il construit, entre autres, les abris de la célèbre colline Mannaïev. Puis il participe à la campagne d'Ukraine et de Pologne où il est gravement blessé.

De cette rude expérience va naître l'écrivain qui en Nekrassov attendait son heure. Il brosse une fresque de guerre. Dans les tranchées de Stalingrad (Presse de la Cité, Paris), qui échappe aux normes alors en vigueur. Car il peint vrai et ne cache ni les erreurs de commandement, ni les souffrances des combattants. Ce qui surprend, c'est que cette œuvre audacieuse ait été couronnée du Prix Staline.

Mais là encore, c'est l'inattendu qui triomphe. Le jury, après une nuit de délibération, avait décidé de refuser le prix à une œuvre aussi peu conformiste. A l'aube, un coup de téléphone venu « d'en haut » donne l'ordre de couronner Nekrassov.

Voici notre écrivain considéré comme le protégé de Staline. Il connaît la gloire et la célébrité. En 1954, il publie Dans la ville natale, puis en 1961 paraît la nouvelle Kira Guéorguievna. Il donne aussi des récits de voyage. Mais cette fois, l'heure du miracle est passée et son indépendance d'esprit qui lui fait écrire un article objectif sur l'Amérique où tout n'est pas noir, lui vaut un avertissement. Cela survient en 1963. On lui demande de faire son autocritique. Il refuse. Six ans plus tard, il a droit à un nouvel avertissement, qualifié cette fois de « sévère ».

La liste de ses « méfaits » s'est entre-temps allongée. Dès 1959, il avait écrit un article publié par « Literaturnia Gazeta » sur Babi-Yar — symbole de l'extermination des Juifs par les nazis. En 1961, il fait un don pour que soit érigée en ces lieux une pierre commémorative. Il avait aussi pris parti pour des intellectuels ukrainiens, jetés en prison. Il avait accompagné, à maintes reprises, à l'aérodrome des Juifs en partance pour Israël ; il avait exprimé sa sympathie pour Alexandre Feldman, ce candidat au départ de Kiev, victime en 1973 d'un procès fabriqué dont on a beaucoup parlé.

La coupe était pleine. En mai 1973, il est exclu du Parti Communiste. Il sera rayé également de l'Encyclopédie littéraire soviétique. Dans l'édition parue en 1967, une demi page lui était consacrée ; en 1974, elle n'existe plus. Les membres du K.G.B. s'intéressent à lui. Quarante-huit heures durant, on perquisitionne dans son appartement. Il ne lui est même plus possible d'écrire, fut-ce secrètement pour sa « table d'écrivain ». Il s'adresse à Brejnev et demande que lui soit accordé un passeport pour se rendre à l'étranger. C'est ainsi que, deux mois plus tard, il part pour Paris muni d'un visa valable pour trois mois.

Le 29 septembre 1974, il est à Genève. Ne pouvant en cette date commémorative se rendre à Babi-Yar, c'est à la synagogue de Genève qu'il va se recueillir et déposer une gerbe.

Tel est Victor Nekrassov.

Une affaire personnelle

Le cas du communiste Youffa

Récit écrit à Kiev en 1971

Nicolai Alexandrovitch Barouzdine, secrétaire de l'organisation du Parti de l'Institut de recherches scientifiques, était perplexe. Le matin même, un de ses ingénieurs était venu le trouver et lui avait demandé une attestation en vue d'un passeport et d'un visa pour Israël. Cet ingénieur, Abraham Lazarevitch Youffa, était un personnage tranquille et sans histoires, qui travaillait à l'Institut depuis des années. Tout d'abord, Nicolai Alexandrovitch n'avait pas compris.

— Un visa : pour aller où ?

— En Israël.

— En Israël ?

— Oui, en Israël. J'ai une sœur qui habite là-bas, avec ses enfants.

— Attendez voir un peu, — Nicolai Alexandrovitch n'y était plus — je ne vous comprends pas très bien. Vous voulez un visa de tourisme ? Tout de suite ?

— Non, non, il ne s'agit pas de tourisme, répondit Abraham Lazarevitch, à voix basse, en roulant un coupe-papier entre ses doigts. « C'est pour de bon ».

Il se fit un silence, puis Nicolai Alexandrovitch demanda :

— Voulez-vous revenir me voir demain ?

Abraham Lazarevitch s'excusa, sortit et referma doucement la porte. La première chose que fit Nicolai Alexandrovitch, ce fut de téléphoner au comité de district. Ni le premier, ni le deuxième secrétaire ne se trouvaient là : tous deux étaient à l'assemblée plénière du Comité régional. Impossible, donc, de joindre quiconque. Que faire ? Qui consulter ? Et d'ailleurs, à quel sujet ? Le brave ingénieur avait perdu la boule. Il essaya de se rappeler où, comment, dans quelles circonstances il avait rencontré Youffa. Hé bien, justement, il ne le rencontrait pas souvent. Il était à l'Institut depuis environ quinze ans, il travaillait bien et personne n'avait eu à se plaindre de lui : il payait régulièrement sa cotisation de membre du Parti, ne manquait pas les réunions d'études du Parti. C'est vrai qu'une fois il avait eu des mots avec Berestov, le sous-directeur de l'Institut, mais on avait tiré l'affaire au clair : c'était Youffa qui avait eu raison, et non pas Berestov. Voilà tout ce que Nicolai savait de lui.

Ce jour-là, Nicolai Alexandrovitch n'avait eu que des déboires. Il y avait une quelconque délégation gouvernementale syrienne de passage, et il fallait lui faire visiter les laboratoires ; et voilà que, comme un fait exprès, les plombs avaient sauté ; on eut beau s'échiner, rien à faire : la lumière ne revenait pas. Ensuite, il y eut une réunion chez le directeur qui était de méchante humeur, comme chaque fois qu'il revenait du Comité Central ; il en avait contre tout le monde, et Nicolai Alexandrovitch en particulier. Puis sa femme téléphonait pour annoncer que Jenka avait ramassé un « 2 » en mathématiques... comme si cela ne souffrait pas d'attendre le soir. Enfin, il avait mal aux dents, et aucun calmant n'y pouvait rien. Et pendant tout ce temps, comme une ville, le nom de Youffa, Youffa, Youffa...

En sortant de chez le directeur, il tomba sur le chef du service des travaux publics, dans les toilettes. Il lui posa des questions.

— Abraham Lazarevitch ? C'est un petit homme très consciencieux, excellent ingénieur, ponctuel, précis, rien ne le décourage. En quinze ans, il n'est jamais arrivé en retard. Pour tout dire, c'est un travailleur exemplaire. Mais pourquoi ?

V

— Comme ça, pour rien. On en reparlera.
Même le chef du personnel, Antipof, qui était felleux et méfiant, n'avait rien à reprocher à Youffa : « C'est un travailleur comme un autre, il n'y a rien contre lui au dossier ».

A la fin de la journée, Nicolai Alexandrovitch réussit enfin à joindre le secrétaire du Comité régional au téléphone.

— J'écoute, dit-il, de sa belle basse.

— J'ai une affaire urgente, Vassili Vassilevitch...

— Si urgente que cela ?

— Oui, terriblement...

— Cela ne peut attendre à demain ? J'ai des billets pour le théâtre : ma femme les a pris il y a deux mois.

— J'aimerais quand même te voir ce soir.

— Bon, alors : je t'attends.

Quand il arriva, Vassili Vassilevitch feuilletait « Ogonek ».

— Que se passe-t-il encore ?

— C'est un communiste qui est venu me voir tout à l'heure. Il demande une attestation pour obtenir un visa pour Israël.

— Pour où ?

— Pour Israël.

— Pour Israël ?

— Oui, pour Israël.

Vassili Vassilevitch se mit à pianoter sur la table.

« Il est devenu fou, ou quoi ? »

Il se fit un silence. Vassili Vassilevitch épongea son gros visage luisant, troué de petite vérole, essaya de joindre quelqu'un au téléphone, sans succès ; s'épongea de nouveau et dit : « M...oui ! », tenta encore de téléphoner, sans plus de succès. « Tous foutu le camp, les chiens » et considéra encore Nicolai Alexandrovitch, de ses petits yeux.

— Quel genre de type c'est ?

— Un type, comme ça, rien à dire...

— Il a fait la guerre ?

— Oui, il semble.

— Il a fait de la tôle ?

— Il semble que non.

— Qu'est-ce qui lui prend, à cette vermine ?

Pour la troisième fois, Vassili Vassilevitch forma un numéro. « Personne », et il jura. « Bon, reviens demain. On réfléchira. On va lui apprendre à vivre, à cette canaille. Israël, non mais : voyez-vous ça. Ici, c'est pas assez bon pour lui ? Va, tire-toi. Tu m'appelles demain matin. »

Ils se séparèrent.

Abraham Lazarevitch allait avoir soixante ans en juillet. Cela voulait dire qu'à partir de juillet, il aurait droit à la retraite. Il y aurait droit, mais il n'y serait pas obligé. Et d'ailleurs, il n'avait pas l'intention de la prendre. D'abord, il ne voyait pas ce qu'il pourrait faire sans travail ; ensuite, et depuis la mort de sa femme, il avait éprouvé plus nettement le désir d'aller rejoindre sa sœur en Israël. Il y pensait déjà avant — depuis juin 67 —

VI

mais sans y croire : à présent, resté seul avec son fils, il avait tout à coup décidé de partir... Et pourquoi cette décision ? Il n'aurait pas su le dire clairement. Il le voulait, voilà tout. Dans sa petite enfance, son père l'emménait régulièrement à la synagogue, il n'éprouvait aucune inclination pour la religion juive. Il avait fait ses études dans une école technique en Ukraine, puis à l'Institut. Il ne connaissait presque pas l'hébreu ; le peu qu'il en avait su était oublié. Ses amis étaient Russes, Ukrainiens, Juifs : il ne savait trop qui était quoi ; à l'époque, ça n'intéressait personne. Puis il y avait eu la guerre, et c'est au front qu'il était devenu membre du Parti. Il avait été blessé et s'en ressentait encore. Au régiment, il n'avait que des amis, et il n'avait jamais souffert de l'antisémitisme. C'est en 1949 que ça avait commencé, mais il ne s'était pas senti visé personnellement. Pourtant, certains de ses amis avaient été touchés, et pour la première fois, il avait éprouvé quelque chose — un serrement de cœur. Que se passait-il ? Pourquoi commençait-on à faire une différence ? Pourquoi avait-on congédié Lioubomirski ? Que pouvait-on lui reprocher ? Qu'il avait une vague tante en Amérique ? Il ne l'avait jamais vue ; les familles ne correspondaient même pas ; elle vivait là-bas, sans déranger personne. Mais c'est que, tout à coup, on découvrait qu'elle dérangeait, cette tante... Et Gricha Morgoulis ? On l'avait même jeté dans un camp, à cause d'une tante — aussi — ou d'un oncle ; ceux-là au moins écrivaient, des lettres, envoyaient des invitations, et cela pouvait sembler suspect. Tout le monde parlait du « Joint », inconnu et donc inquiétant. Et puis, il y avait eu le témoignage de Lydia Timochouk, l'affaire des médecins... Les choses étaient de plus en plus effrayantes.

Puis, il avait semblé que ça se calmait. Mais le « Paragraphe 5 » demeurait, et le petit Sacha — le fils des voisins — fut refusé à l'Institut bien qu'il ait eu un « 14 », et que la moyenne exigée était 13. Les Juifs disparaissaient de l'administration — tous ; seul Dimchits resta plus longtemps que les autres. On ne savait pas ce qu'étaient devenus les Mikhoels, les Zouskine, et lorsque le petit Boris âgé de dix ans revenait de l'école, les yeux pleins de larmes, et voulait savoir ce que c'était qu'une « gueule de youpin », on ne savait pas quoi répondre.

Et pourtant, ça semblait se calmer. Au travail, il ne se passait rien.

Et puis il y eut 1967 et la guerre des Six jours. Et sans le vouloir — comment ça se produisit-il ? — il découvrait qu'il était pour les Israéliens, et pas pour les Arabes. Les journaux défendaient la thèse opposée, mais tout homme sensé finissait tant bien que mal par comprendre que l'agresseur, c'était Nasser. Le retrait des forces de l'ONU, le blocus du golfe d'Akaba, les manifestations antisémites du Caire, leurs slogans hystériques sur l'élimination de tous les Juifs, tout cela paraissait clair, et même aveuglant. Cette victoire de deux millions d'Israéliens sur cent millions d'Arabes qui ne voulaient pas se battre, Abraham Lazarevitch se mit à la ressentir involontairement comme celle de son peuple, comme une victoire personnelle. Et il se mit à vouloir partager le difficile destin de son peuple.

C'est alors qu'un chacun essaya de lui expliquer son erreur : la radio, les journaux, les lettres ouvertes des tourneurs et fraiseurs sur métaux, celles des ballerines du Bolchoï et des Héros de l'Union Soviétique. Tous lui expliquaient qu'il n'avait qu'une patrie, l'Union Soviétique, que les Moshe Dayan et Golda Meir étaient des agresseurs, des occupants — bref, de vulgaires sionistes.

VII

On ne voulait pas entendre parler de « son » peuple. Le peuple juif, on ne connaissait pas. Ce qu'on connaissait, c'étaient des citoyens soviétiques de nationalité juive, qui jouissaient des mêmes droits que les citoyens des autres nationalités : le droit au travail, au repos, à l'instruction, à une vieillesse garantie par la retraite. Que lui fallait-il de plus ?

Ce qu'il lui fallait ? Très peu de chose : la liberté de prendre ses décisions lui-même. Youffa n'accuse personne, ni le Parti, ni le Gouvernement ; il veut simplement qu'on lui permette de partir en Israël. Pourquoi faire ? Cela, c'est son affaire. Il a une peur, là-bas, qu'il n'a pas vue depuis plus de quarante ans, et des neveux qu'il ne connaît pas encore. Il y a aussi là-bas une petite nation courageuse qui s'est constituée pour défendre son droit à l'existence et à la liberté. Il voudrait vivre avec eux-là. Voilà tout. Peut-on le lui interdire ? Au nom de quoi ? Il n'a pas l'intention de faire la guerre — ni aux Arabes, ni aux Turcs. Il veut travailler tranquillement, dans un des kibboutzim, cultiver la terre, ou garder les moutons, s'il le faut, cotiser à l'un des partis — celui de Mikouin ou celui de Vilner, ce n'est pas la question, pour le moment. Pour tout dire d'un mot, il demande un visa de sortie.

« Mais tu déraillais, lui répétaient ses amis. Tu ne vois pas que c'est un acte antisoviétique caractérisé ? Ce visa, tu ne l'auras jamais. Et même si, par une raison inexplicable, on te laissait sortir, jamais on ne permettrait à ton fils Boris de l'accompagner ! Dans quatre ans, il aura l'âge du service militaire — et pas chez Moshe Dayan ! »

Oui, Abraham Lazarevitch comprend ces choses. Mais il découvre aussi que cela l'ennuie à mourir : les journaux, avec les lettres ouvertes de Plisetskaya et de Nathan Ryback ; et la télévision, avec le spectacle d'Arkady Raïkin, qui garde les yeux baissés ; avec la conférence de presse de quelque Fridmann, diplomate d'histoire, qui raconte Babi-Yar, qui explique comment les sionistes portent la faute de ce qui s'est passé alors, et que le sang des victimes retombera sur eux.

Qu'a-t-il besoin de ces discours, de ces leçons ? On veut lui prouver qu'il a la chance de vivre dans un pays de liberté, le pays le plus libre du monde ? Hé bien, qu'on le prouve : qu'on lui donne la liberté de choisir. Il est idiot ? Ça se peut : il ne le contestera pas. Mais son fils Boris, qu'est-ce qu'il pense ? Son père a-t-il raison, a-t-il tort ?

Borka se taisait. Il venait d'avoir quinze ans, il commençait tout juste à se raser, à fumer. Mais la politique ne l'intéressait pas encore. Il voyait bien que les projets de son père suscitaient la désapprobation de ses amis, mais comme l'autorité paternelle demeurerait incontestable, il ne disait rien.

Petit à petit, les amis d'Abraham renoncèrent à lui faire entendre raison : ils s'en lavent les mains. Depuis la mort de sa femme, on ne peut plus rien lui dire. Il faut donc réduire les discussions au minimum, sur ce sujet tout au moins — c'est prudent. Qu'il fasse ce qu'il veut — il est majeur.

Nicolai Alexandrovitch n'avait pas fermé l'œil de la nuit. Il s'était tourné et retourné dans son lit, se levant pour aller boire de l'eau, et absorber divers sédatifs.

Qu'allait-il faire de cet imbécile de Youffa ? Comment agir ? Après tout,

VIII

Vassili Vassilevitch le lui dirait. Seulement, c'est à lui, Nicolai Alexandrovitch, de mener toutes ces discussions, et non au premier secrétaire. Une attestation ! Le diable seul savait quelle attestation il pourrait donner ! Sur quoi — et à qui ? Et son fils Jenka, un nigaard de vingt ans, qui n'arrête pas de se marier ! « Ne t'en fais pas, petit père, les camarades communistes te diront ce qu'il faut faire ; ils prendront tous la parole, l'un après l'autre, ils s'agitieront sur la tribune pour flétrir la myopie politique de ton Youffa, son ignorance des vrais critères, son manque de principes. Et encore vingt-sept péchés capitaux. Dis, Papa, tu me diras la date de la réunion ? Je ne veux pas manquer ça ».

Que faire avec ces gamins ? Ça pousse, ça se moque de tout. « Karl Marx l'a dit : il faut tout remettre en question ». Ils écoutent la B.B.C., « la Voix » et un nommé Anatole Maximovitch Goldberg, qui a plus de prestige à leurs yeux que leur propre père. Hier encore, Nicolai Alexandrovitch les entendait, lui et son copain Edik, devant leur thé : « Alors, la Prusse orientale — ou plutôt, comme on dit maintenant, le « district de Kaliningrad ». C'est pas une zone occupée ? Et la Silésie ? Et Stettin ? Toutes ces régions, on les a pas conquises par le fer et par le feu ? Brandt lui-même l'a reconnue, la frontière de l'Oder-Neisse. Alors — pourquoi pas Gaza, et la presque île du Sinaï ? C'est logique, peut-être ? Comment justifier les Carpates, la Boukovine soviétique ? A Oujgorod, personne ne parle plus l'ukrainien : seulement le tchèque et le hongrois. Non, non, petit père, vous ne brillez pas par la logique. Du reste, c'est en logique que Vladimir Illich a eu sa plus mauvaise note à l'examen. On apprend ça à l'école ».

Comment discuter ? Ils savent tout ! Et si on se mêle de leur faire la leçon, ils s'étonnent de tant d'ignorance. « Comment — diront-ils — tu ne sais même pas que tous les partis communistes étrangers, tous les journaux, l'Humanité, l'Unité, le Morning Star, ont félicité Soljenitsyne pour son prix Nobel, ce grand héritier des grandes traditions humanistes de la littérature russe. Et dans vos journaux on ne dit rien ? C'est pas vrai ! » Vos journaux... ça fait plaisir à entendre !

Nicolai Alexandrovitch prend une cigarette, — bientôt cinq heures du matin, que diable — se retourne, compte jusqu'à cent.

Dès dix heures, il est au comité du district. Vassili Vassilevitch l'attend, renfrogné, maussade.

— Bon, il faut faire une réunion du Parti, dit-il pesamment. J'ai déjà contacté certaines personnes.

— Et alors ?...

— Et alors : rien. On fait une réunion, voilà tout. Que les communistes se prononcent.

— Sur quoi ?

— Comment, sur quoi ! T'es pas bien ? C'est toi-même qui m'as dit hier que c'est un membre du Parti. Donc — il faut discuter !

— Eh bien, on discutera : et après ? Qu'est-ce qu'on va faire pour l'attestation ?

— Mais qu'importe cette attestation, — Vassili Vassilevitch se met brusquement en colère — c'est frapper qu'il faut, et frapper fort pour ôter à ce type le goût du pain. C'est des trucs avec lesquels on ne plaisante pas. Convoque-le avant la réunion dans ton bureau, explique-lui, à ce débile, qu'un communiste ne fait pas ça. Faut-il vraiment tout t'apprendre ?

IX

Nicolai Alexandrovitch se tait.

— Pourquoi tu te tais ? Ce n'est pas clair ?

— Pour être clair, c'est clair...

— Alors, si c'est clair, au boulot, et plus vite que ça ! Tu me feras un rapport. S'il le faut, j'irai à la réunion. Ou j'enverrai mon adjoint.

Nicolai Alexandrovitch sort. Grand, large d'épaules, il paraît calme et sûr de lui, avec la médaille du centième anniversaire de la naissance de Lénine sur le revers. Il marche et regarde les passants avec indifférence. Il se pose des questions tourmentées. Que faire ? Faut-il exclure Youffa du Parti ? Faut-il lui passer un savon ? Qu'avait-il eu besoin de se lancer dans cette histoire, ce vieux ? A l'âge de la retraite... Qu'il aille se reposer s'il ne veut plus travailler. Qu'il travaille s'il ne veut pas se reposer... Mais non : Monsieur a choisi Israël !

Nicolai Alexandrovitch est un homme bienveillant et même conciliant, qui a les complications en horreur, et qui n'aime pas du tout prendre de décisions, surtout lorsqu'il faut faire vite. Il sait déjà, d'après le ton de Vassili Vassilevitch, qu'il va falloir être dur avec ce Youffa, et ça, il ne sait pas le faire.

Peut-on dire qu'il soit antisémite ? Non, sans doute. Encore que, comme tout membre discipliné du Parti, il ne puisse imaginer que toutes ces mesures restrictives dont les Juifs sont victimes aient été prises pour rien. Sans doute, ce peuple énergique et astucieux, opiniâtre aussi, qui a toujours su se débrouiller, il faut bien le maintenir à sa place. Alors il ne convient pas de s'étonner si les Juifs ne peuvent pas entrer dans la diplomatie, ou occuper des postes de responsabilité politique : si les Universités n'ouvrent pas leurs portes aux enfants juifs comme aux autres. Rien de troublant à tout cela : les choses sont comme elles doivent être. Ceux qui nous gouvernent savent ce qu'ils font. Et si les Sionistes n'avaient pas exagéré, tout serait resté dans l'ordre : comme avant.

Oui, mais : Nicolai Alexandrovitch sent bien, aussi, que les choses ne sont pas claires. Il fait comme les autres, il défend la cause des Arabes, mais ce qui se passe ne lui plaît pas tellement. Tout ce fric, ces armes que nous leur donnons, s'engloutissent dans un gouffre sans fond. Et puis, ces Arabes qui prennent l'argent communiste, les tanks communistes, qu'est-ce qu'ils font chez eux ? Leurs communistes arabes, ils les mettent en tôle. Alors ?

A l'Institut, Nicolai Alexandrovitch veut réunir le bureau du Parti, mais il manque trois membres sur cinq. Il fixe donc la réunion au lendemain.

Il rentre chez lui, et son fils l'attend. C'est un véritable tir d'artillerie.

— Et alors, comment va ton affaire ?

— Quelle affaire ?

— Ton Israélien ?

— D'où tiens-tu cela ?

— Je le sais. Je sais tout !

— On fera ce qu'il faut, répond évasivement le père.

— Et qu'est-ce qu'il faut faire ?

— Ne te mêle pas de ce qui ne te regarde pas.

— Tiens donc ! Et pourquoi ça ne me regarderait pas ?

— Parce que ça ne te regarde pas.

— Quelle logique, rien à dire !

Nicolai Alexandrovitch ne réplique pas. Mais le garçon ne lâche pas prise.

x

— Vous allez l'exclure ?

— On verra, répond Nicolai, toujours aussi vague.

— On verra quoi ?

— Ce que diront les communistes.

— Ce qu'ils diront ?... Ils diront ce qu'on leur dira de dire. — Jenka regarde son père avec ironie : Quel est son crime ?

— Son crime — tout d'un coup, la colère le prend — ce n'est pas possible, tu ne comprends donc pas ?

— Absolument pas.

— Tu ne comprends pas qu'un citoyen de l'Union Soviétique, et qui plus est, un communiste, un membre du Parti — Alexandrovitch accentue chaque mot — s'il quitte son pays pour aller dans un pays capitaliste comme Israël offense gravement sa patrie et nous provoque tous, tant que nous sommes, et toi avec ?

— Je ne vois pas de défi ni de provocation ! La déclaration des Droits de l'homme, que tu dois connaître et qui a été signée par l'Union Soviétique, le dit noir sur blanc, que chaque homme a le droit de vivre où il veut. Je ne vois pas d'offense.

— Ne dis pas de bêtises.

— Oh, Papa, arrête ! Tu pourrais dire aussi que tu le considères comme un traître à sa patrie.

— Mais oui... Si tu veux. Sa patrie, elle est ici, pas ailleurs, elle ne lui pardonnera jamais... Il veut aller en Israël — voyez-vous ça ! Il n'est pas bien ici !

— Peut-être pas ! Comment pourrais-tu le savoir ? Tiens, prends Somerset Maugham : c'est un écrivain anglais, un citoyen britannique ; eh bien, il a choisi de passer toute sa vie en France ! Sur la Côte d'Azur ! Ça lui plaisait. Lui aussi, c'est un traître à sa patrie ? Picasso vit en France, il ne retourne en Espagne que pour les corridas. Et Hemingway vivait à Cuba, qui est au plus mal avec les Etats-Unis...

— Je n'en ai rien à foutre d'Hemingway. Et puis, écoute : ferme-la, tu me donnes la migraine.

Jenka siffle entre ses dents et hausse les épaules.

— Bon, excuse-moi ; tu veux une aspirine ?

— Merci, pas la peine.

— Ils se séparent là-dessus.

Les membres du bureau du Parti, c'est : Nikiforof, un ingénieur ; Abachidze, ingénieur aussi ; Antipof, chef du personnel ; le directeur de l'Institut est en déplacement — et Nicolai Alexandrovitch.

Nikiforof est un jeune qui s'intéresse à ses affaires personnelles — et compliquées — plus qu'à celles du Parti. Abachidze doit partir en vacances la semaine prochaine, et toutes ses pensées sont déjà tournées vers Tbilissi. Quant à Antipof, sa tension a récemment monté, et il passe son temps à se tâter le poulx. Le directeur étant absent, c'est à Nicolai Alexandrovitch de présenter le dossier. N'allait-on pas le trouver trop mou ? Mais ne risque-t-il pas, à l'inverse, d'y aller trop fort ? Nicolai suggère, d'une voix mal assurée, qu'on adresse un blâme sévère à Youffa, ainsi qu'une mise en garde contre son absence de principes. Contre toute attente, la proposition est adoptée à l'una-

x

nimité. Antipof déclare tout de même que des types comme ça devraient être chassés, mais que pour cette fois, on fermera les yeux : le gars est âgé, il a fait la guerre. On peut se contenter d'un blâme.

La-dessus, on se sépare. Nicolai Alexandrovitch est soulagé : ça a passé. Reste encore la réunion des membres du Parti : elle est fixée au jeudi suivant à six heures du soir. Pendant les deux jours qui le séparent du jeudi, Nicolai Alexandrovitch est morose et silencieux. Il évite Jenka qui le regarde avec ironie et sans la moindre compassion. Jenka ne pose pas de questions, mais une fois, il dit à sa mère, en passant : « N'embête pas Papa : il essaye de décider quoi dire jeudi prochain, et il n'y arrive pas ». Sa mère ne répond pas.

Jeudi arrive, et six heures du soir...

Un petit homme borné et sûr de lui arrive du comité de district : c'est le deuxième secrétaire, Kroutiline. Il aime parler et manipule les mots capitalisme et impérialisme en mouillant le l — à la Khrouchtchev.

Il y a du monde. On s'installe dans le bureau du sous-directeur Innocent Ignatievitch Ignatiev. Avant d'ouvrir la séance, celui-ci s'approche de Nicolai Alexandrovitch et lui dit en confidence qu'il a parlé, le matin même, au directeur qui regrette de ne pouvoir assister à la réunion, qu'il connaît ces « fortes têtes » capables de n'importe quoi, et qu'il ne sert à rien de prendre des gants.

— Qu'est-ce qu'il entend par là : « il ne sert à rien de prendre des gants », demande Ignatiev en fixant Nicolai avec attention ?
— Eh bien, voyons : qu'il ne faut pas prendre de gants...

— C'est-à-dire ?

— Écoutez d'abord ce que les communistes ont à dire.

Innocent Ignatievitch s'éloigne, mécontent.

— Ainsi, dit Nicolai Alexandrovitch en prenant place derrière l'immense bureau du sous-directeur, il n'y a qu'une question à l'ordre du jour : une affaire personnelle, le cas du communiste Abraham Lazarevitch Youffa.

Abraham Lazarevitch est assis à côté de lui, petit et mélancolique, avec ses décorations défraîchies au revers de son veston râpé. Sur ses genoux, un cartable et une feuille de papier.

— Y a-t-il d'autres propositions ?

Il n'y en a pas. On procède à l'élection du présidium — trois membres et un secrétaire, ou plutôt un secrétaire, car c'est toujours Bronietchka, la belle dactylo aux formes opulentes.

On écoute l'exposé. Troublé et bredouillant quelque peu, Nicolai Alexandrovitch relate qu'il a été saisi, au titre de secrétaire du bureau du Parti, d'une demande d'attestation présentée par le camarade Youffa pour lui permettre de partir en Israël avec son fils.

Il se fait un silence. Un silence à couper au couteau, chacun réfléchit à toute vitesse : faut-il parler ou non ? Et si oui, que dire, à quel moment, et dans quelle forme ?

Abraham Lazarevitch observe chacun, tour à tour, de son regard mobile et triste, de son regard juif.

Au deuxième rang, il y a Sacha Kotlieniets. Ils ont été en classe ensemble, dans le temps. Youffa l'avait aidé à mettre au point un projet de construction ; il s'agissait d'un cinéma de trois cents places ; il avait corrigé les épreuves — ils étaient amis. Il lui semblait, à Youffa, qu'ils étaient amis. A côté de Sacha, c'est Boris Grigorievitch qui s'intéresse toujours à tout. Tous les matins,

XII

il s'installe en posant la même question : « Qu'est-ce qu'ils ont donné hier soir, à la télé ? ». Aujourd'hui, et c'est la première fois, il n'a rien dit : il sait. Il y a eu réunion du Parti. Derrière lui, Chapiro, le beau parleur, le meilleur joueur de cartes de l'Institut. Dans les réunions, quand on a épuisé l'ordre du jour et que tout le monde meurt de fatigue et ne songe qu'à rentrer, il ne manque jamais, au dernier moment, de proposer un amendement à la résolution : au lieu « d'exprimer le vœu », il demande qu'on « exprime le vœu ardent » et, pour la vingtième fois, il faut voter. Il y a aussi Khodorof, avec son début de calvitie, dont le seul trait saillant est de savoir lire les lettres non décachées, et il en tire un considérable orgueil. Il a une voix sonore et déplaisante, qui résonne jusque dans les couloirs. Et puis il y a Tchertkov, à qui on confie toujours la proposition des nouveaux candidats. Et Serge Nikitch — plantureux, rieur, amateur d'anecdotes qui le font rire avant son public. Et Raïssa Prokofievna, plate comme une limande, qui a l'air d'une vieille gouvernante et qui, malgré son âge, passe son temps à rallonger ou à raccourcir ses jupes pour être à la mode.

Presque tous ces gens, Abraham Youffa les connaît. Il sait ce qui se passe chez eux, qu'un tel a été malade, quelle est la tension de tel autre, quel a été le score de hockey au dernier match contre les Tchèques, et si le petit Vadim a encore de la fièvre ce matin.

Ces Kotlieniets, Grigorievitch, Chapiro ou Prokofievna, il lui semblait qu'ils avaient de l'amitié pour lui. Ils lui demandaient souvent conseil, lui empruntaient de l'argent en attendant la prochaine paie. Pour ses cinquante ans, on lui avait offert un immense gâteau sur lequel était inscrit, en lettres de crème : « A notre cher camarade, pour son Jubilé ».

Et voici que chacun devra prendre la parole contre lui, ou écouter les autres en silence, ce qui n'est pas plus facile pour certains.

— Quelqu'un a-t-il une question à poser ? — C'est la voix de Nicolai Alexandrovitch.

Et encore le silence... Un silence lourd, annonciateur d'orage.

Tout va dépendre de la première question, des premiers mots. Et moins peut-être de la question même que des mots utilisés, de la formule employée, du but poursuivi par celui qui parlera, d'une simple intonation, peut-être ?

Après un nouveau silence, interrompu deux fois par Nicolai lui-même : « Qui veut prendre la parole ? », le chef du Comité régional pose la première question.

— Dans quel but désirez-vous aller en Israël ? — Il regarde Youffa de ses yeux écartés, immobiles.

— Sans but, répondit Abraham Lazarevitch, à voix basse, pour y vivre.

— En Israël ?

— Oui, en Israël.

— Sous l'aile de Golda Méir et autres Moshe Dayan ?

— Sous l'aile de personne, répond Abraham Lazarevitch, toujours à voix basse. Je ne les connais pas. C'est vivre là-bas que je veux.

— J'ai compris — déclare le chef du Comité régional, comme s'il venait de découvrir un espion. Il inscrit quelque chose dans son carnet.

On lui pose ensuite quelques questions : où il est né, où sont ses parents, s'il a de la famille à l'étranger, à quelle date et où il est entré au Parti, s'il a fait la guerre. Cette dernière question vient de Sacha Kotlieniets avec une bienveillance évidente. Il y en a encore une, posée par l'ingénieur de la section

XIII

technique Vilioutsev, qui ne parle jamais pour ne rien dire, et qui a emprunté cinq roubles à Abraham Lazarevitch, trois jours plus tôt : quelle signification politique peut-on donner, d'après Youffa, à son geste ?

Abraham Lazarevitch répond brièvement : « Aucune ».

Il n'y a plus de questions.

Le secrétaire du Comité régional prend alors la parole : c'est lui qui va donner le ton, mettre tout le monde dans l'ambiance. Il prend son temps — une vingtaine de minutes au moins. Il commence par analyser la situation au Moyen-Orient, dénonce la collusion américano-israélienne qui cherche à étendre le conflit, décrit brillamment les ignobles provocations sionistes, stigmatise les menées indignes de Mme Méir et du trop fameux Moshe Dayan, ces laquais de l'impérialisme américain. Ayant ainsi défini les bases mêmes de l'affaire, il rentre dans le vif du sujet : la scandaleuse décision d'un soi-disant communiste, le dénommé Youffa, qui a tenté de trahir sa patrie.

— C'est vous, citoyen Youffa (ce n'est plus au « camarade » qu'on s'adresse), par votre geste déshonorant, qui foulez aux pieds ce qu'il y a en vous de plus pur, de plus noble : votre conscience politique de membre du Parti. Vous, que la patrie a formé avec amour, vous avez choisi de lui cracher à la figure. Vous crachez sur votre Parti. Pour quelques misérables trente deniers, vous rampez aux pieds des extrémistes sionistes ! Vous vous mettez à genoux devant eux. Vous souillez votre propre nid. Bon gré mal gré, vous êtes désormais un instrument de ces agents de l'impérialisme (en mouillant le 1, comme Khrouchtchev) qui, soit dit en passant, ne tiennent qu'à un fétu de paille, ces rabbins Kahane et autres énergumènes de l'antisovétisme sioniste.

Abraham Lazarevitch, la tête baissée, écoute et essaie de comprendre : qui lui a versé trente deniers — et pourquoi faire, en paiement de quoi ? A quelle mendicité il se livre, et pourquoi les sionistes des bas-fonds s'accrochent à un fétu de paille ? Tout cela tourne dans sa tête, sombre et remonte à la surface — tandis que le fond du problème, sa redoutable et menaçante réalité, tarde encore à le frapper dans sa conscience — et dérive curieusement, avec ses crachats, ses nids souillés.

— Il n'y a pas de place pour des gens de votre espèce dans notre Parti ! Pas de place sur notre terre ! Pas de place non plus sous notre soleil rayonnant qui éclaire de nouveaux exploits et de nouvelles découvertes !

C'est la fin du discours. L'orateur jette autour de soi un regard impérieux, qui évite Youffa mais qui enveloppe la salle entière et retourne à sa place. « C'est mal parti ! », se dit Nicolai Alexandrovitch. « Un blâme ne suffit pas ». Sans le vouloir, il se tourne vers le secrétaire du Comité régional, comme s'il cherchait de l'aide. L'autre a saisi son regard et murmure, juste assez fort pour que tous les membres du Bureau l'entendent : « C'est clair, à présent ? ».

Nicolai Alexandrovitch hoche la tête, en silence. Il y a, ensuite, une dizaine d'interventions — les gens parlent sans quitter leur place, les uns d'une voix forte, les autres tout bas, mais ce qu'ils disent est pareil : la patrie communiste, le parti, ont formé Youffa, l'ont éduqué et instruit, dépendant ce qu'il faut pour fabriquer un homme, l'ont guidé et choyé. Voici que l'in-grat vend tout ce bien, pour trente deniers (la formule, on peut le dire, a fait fortune, car elle revient dans toutes les bouches — un orateur va jusqu'à parler de trois cents deniers, pour faire bonne mesure...). Ainsi, traître et renégat, révisionniste et émigré de l'intérieur, il s'est coupé lui-même de son pays,

XIV

se privant de tous ses droits, obligeant la Patrie russe à le chasser.

Abraham Lazarevitch écoute en silence, et crayonne nerveusement sur un bout de papier. Il s'étonne. Non pas tant de ce qu'il entend (encore qu'il eut préféré un style moins fleuri), mais de la personnalité des orateurs. Celui qui voudrait le voir chassé du sol natal, c'est son vieux partenaire aux cartes, Chapiro, qui s'est présenté ici en citoyen soviétique de nationalité juive, égal en droits à tous les autres citoyens. Il parle au nom de tous les travailleurs juifs de la grande fraternité des peuples (il a nommé l'Union des Républiques Socialistes Soviétiques) et son discours suscite même quelques applaudissements. Quant à Vilioutsev, qui lui doit cinq roubles (va-t-il jamais les rendre ? et comment ? Question intéressante), il déclare que si le citoyen Youffa (c'est ainsi désormais qu'à l'exemple du secrétaire, un chacun le désigne) lui tendait la main, en signe de réconciliation ou de repentir, il ne pourrait pas la serrer, tant le personnage le dégoûte. Boris Grigorievitch, son voisin de bureau (celui qui demande, chaque matin, ce qu'on a vu la veille, à la télé), commence par déverser un seuil d'ordures sur la tête lointaine du premier ministre qui siège à Tel-Aviv, la trop fameuse « Madame » Méir. Puis, inspiré sans doute par des reminiscences de l'année 49, il voit en Youffa un malfaisant pygmée, un cosmopolite sans racines. Mais c'est Sacha Kotelenets qui présente le spectacle le plus lamentable. Le visage éperdu, la voix brisée, il n'a pas un mot d'hostilité à l'encontre du prévenu : ni dénunciations ni indignation vertueuse. Il l'appelle par son nom patronymique et rappelle les faits de guerre qui l'ont conduit de la Volga jusqu'à l'Oder. Seulement, tout le discours est truffé de toutefois, de pourtant et de bien entendu. « Ce n'est pas à moi de juger », répète-t-il d'une voix accablée. Quelqu'un dans la salle finit par l'interrompre :

— Assez de simagrées ! Parle franchement : tu es pour ou tu es contre ?

Abraham Lazarevitch ne comprend pas. Ce qui fait le plus mal, c'est la fougue et l'ardeur de ces propos. Non, il n'aurait pas cru cela possible — ni pour Chapiro, ni pour Boris Grigorievitch, ou encore Vilioutsev, qui pèse chaque mot, d'ordinaire, comme s'il craignait les foudres du jugement dernier. Ça fait mal, et ce qui fait mal aussi, c'est l'attitude opposée de certains autres qui ont l'air de réciter leur leçon en un chapelet de formules, débitées d'une voix uniforme, à peine audible, les yeux baissés, accrochés au dossier de leur chaise. Et toujours les mêmes mots : le Parti, le Gouvernement, la Patrie et ce qu'on lui doit...

Et puis soudain — mais il a dû mal entendre — du fond de la salle s'élève une voix jeune et des mots totalement différents. Un petit gars, vingt ans à peine, bronzé, les dents blanches, le physique d'un joueur de volley ; sa voix tremble un peu.

— Je ne comprends pas ce qui se passe, camarades... Non vraiment, je ne comprends pas. Voici un camarade que je ne connais pas, c'est la première fois que je le vois. On ne lui donne pas la parole, mais on parle de lui en sa présence comme s'il était un espion pris sur le fait... Il paraît qu'il a trahi la patrie, qu'il a empoché je ne sais quels deniers, et quoi encore ? Une voix s'élève dans la salle :

— Un point d'ordre : le nom de l'orateur.

— Je m'appelle Koudriavzev, je suis serrurier. Je ne travaille pas depuis longtemps, deux mois seulement, et j'ai fait ma demande d'inscription au Parti. Ça va comme ça ? Bon, où j'en étais ?... Ah oui, je ne comprends pas : vous avez

XV

devant vous un homme : il a fait la guerre, il a été blessé, on nous l'a dit aussi. Un homme qui n'est plus jeune, ce qui veut dire qu'il a déjà beaucoup travaillé et qu'il a remboursé sa dette envers le pays. Et voilà que cet homme a envie de s'en aller quelque part...

— Pas quelque part, interrompt quelqu'un : en Israël !

— Bon, en Israël. Qu'est-ce que ça change ? Qu'il y aille ! Pourquoi le retenir ? Il ne veut pas rester avec nous. Pourquoi s'accrocher à ses basques ? Peut-être qu'il a une sœur, là-bas, ou un frère, un beau-frère, des parents ? Mais qu'il aille les rejoindre ! Et pour ce qui est du Parti, il s'inscrira là-bas — il paraît qu'ils ont aussi un Parti communiste. Au lieu de ça, on le traite de renégat, on parle d'impérialisme, de capitalisme et Dieu sait quoi. On emploie des mots terribles ; des mots qui restent collés, qu'on ne peut pas arracher. Non, ce n'est pas bien, vous savez. — Il se passe la main dans les cheveux, nerveusement, et enfin : Voilà ce que j'en pense. Et de toute façon, il faut laisser les gens parler...

Le jeune homme pousse un soupir, se rassemble, le feu aux joues.

Il y a du bruit. Quelqu'un crie « suspension », un autre demande qu'on donne la parole à Youffa, mais c'est Innocent Ignatievitch, le sous-directeur, qui la prend, toujours sur un point d'ordre...

— Je désire répondre au jeune interlocuteur qui a parlé avec tant de flamme. On laisserait partir en Israël un ingénieur qui a beaucoup travaillé chez nous, qui sait beaucoup de choses, qui en a beaucoup vu et beaucoup visité, — et notamment des choses qu'il n'aurait peut-être pas fallu montrer à n'importe qui. — Est-ce qu'il se rend compte du danger ? Est-ce qu'il comprend que pour des renseignements qui peuvent intéresser certaines personnes, l'ingénieur Youffa pourrait recevoir quelques deniers sous formes de dollars ? Qu'a-t-il à dire à tout cela ?

Le jeune homme lève violemment la main : « Attendez, j'ai quelque chose à dire », mais on ne le laisse pas parler : la séance est suspendue.

Kolia Koudriavtzev avait vingt-deux ou vingt-trois ans, pas plus. Il venait finir son service militaire et travaillait depuis peu à l'Institut. Il ne possédait pas grand chose : un esprit insouciant, un corps vigoureux, l'amour de Lénotchka, étudiante dans l'un des Instituts techniques, un lit dans une cité ouvrière, des parents quelque part à la campagne, et l'art de voir le bon côté des choses et de s'en amuser. Il buvait modérément, et seulement les jours de paie. Il lisait modérément aussi, et seulement les soirs où il n'y avait rien de mieux à faire et pas de matchs à la télé — avec une préférence pour la dernière page des journaux et le « Sport Soviétique ». Pour tout dire, un jeune homme comme les autres ; et pourtant, une qualité particulière le distinguait des autres, il voyait plus facilement ce que les hommes ont de bien que de mal. Il lui semblait que si quelqu'un faisait quelque chose de moche, c'était par erreur, qu'il allait s'en rendre compte. « C'est la vie, disait-il, ça arrive à tout le monde ». Et si l'un de ses amis avait quelque chose à se reprocher : « Va dormir, on verra demain ». Le lendemain, il venait avec une bouteille de bière. Ses copains l'adoraient. Quelqu'un l'avait surnommé « Docteur Jarring » et depuis lors ce surnom lui était resté, sous une forme simplifiée : « le docteur ».

Une autre qualité qui le mettait à part, c'était de dire ce qu'il pensait, sans se retenir et sans fléchir, de se lancer tête baissée dans la bagarre, malgré les conseils de prudence du type « mêle-toi de ce qui te regarde » que les

XVI

copains lui donnaient. Mais la prudence n'était pas son fort, Kolia se retrouvait souvent en pleine bagarre : advenue que pourra.

C'est ce qui venait de se passer à la réunion. Il ne s'intéressait pas tellement à la guerre du Proche-Orient ; tout ce qu'il savait, c'est que les Arabes ne savaient pas se battre, que les Juifs, tout en étant dix fois moins nombreux, réussissaient à mettre leurs adversaires en fuite ; il savait aussi que le territoire d'Israël était tout petit, un mouchoir de poche. Quant au conflit, ça lui passait au-dessus de la tête. Mais ce qu'il venait de voir, c'est que tout le monde s'était jeté sur un petit homme silencieux et âgé, qui s'était recroquevillé dans son coin en feignant de prendre des notes.

Pendant la suspension de séance, deux membres du Bureau s'approchent du jeune homme pour lui faire la leçon : l'un d'eux, grand et trapu, le secrétaire du Comité régional et l'autre, qui a pris la parole en premier.

— Qu'est-ce qui t'a pris ? Tu ne sais rien de l'affaire, alors tiens-toi tranquille. Commence par écouter, et tâche de comprendre ; après, tu pourras prendre la parole. Toi, tu t'amènes là-dedans comme si on maltraitait un type qui est à terre.

— Et ce n'est pas vrai ? intervient Nikolai.

— Si c'est vrai, c'est qu'il le faut — et on ne fait que commencer.

— Eh bien, tapez-lui dessus, mais ne comptez pas sur moi.

— Comment ça — « ne comptez pas sur moi » ? Tu es au Parti depuis combien de temps ?

— Je n'y suis pas encore. Je suis candidat. J'ai fait ma demande quand j'étais au service, l'an dernier.

— Un vrai môme ! Et ça se mêle de donner son avis ! Ce que pensent les aînés, ça n'a pas d'intérêt, quoi ? Il faut ouvrir ses oreilles, gamin — et il faut se servir de sa tête. A supposer qu'il y ait quelque chose dedans... Compris ?

Tout ça, d'un ton sinon menaçant, du moins sans réplique.

— A propos, ajoute-t-il, c'est ton initiative — ou bien en as-tu discuté au préalable, avec des copains ? Personne ne t'a chargé de dire quelque chose ?

— Personne.

— Tu connaissais Youffa ?

— C'est la première fois que je le vois. Je l'ai dit.

— Bien, bien — et le secrétaire du Comité régional ajoute : Quand tu veux prendre la parole dans une réunion de ce genre, viens nous prévenir ; tu trouveras toujours quelqu'un pour t'aider, au Bureau.

— Bon, ça suffit, marmonne Nikolai en allumant, enfin, une cigarette.

La vérité — Kolia est en train de s'en convaincre — il ne la sent pas du tout comme ces deux-là. Pour eux, c'était semble-t-il un tout incontestable, d'en haut, et reproduit dans la presse. Pour lui, c'était quelque chose d'assez insaisissable, que la parole cernait mal, mais qui s'imposait, en quelque sorte. Pas toujours à la raison, du reste — mais plutôt, va savoir ? — à la sensibilité.

C'est en écoutant Youffa qu'il commence à s'en assurer. Mais d'abord c'est Antipof, le chef du Personnel, qui prend la parole. Il n'avait rien dit jusque-là, commence-t-il, parce qu'il voulait entendre d'abord les membres du Parti. Les camarades avaient bien parlé, leur analyse était juste. Ils étaient, dans l'ensemble, d'accord : c'était à prévoir. La collectivité s'était montrée unie, solide et sans faille. L'intervention du jeune camarade avait, certes, troublé

XVII

les esprits, mais on pouvait n'y voir qu'un accident de jeunesse : le jeune homme allait réfléchir et s'inspirer de l'exemple de ses aînés. Antipof refusait de croire que le camarade exprimait des opinions qui lui avaient été suggérées du dehors — chose, malheureusement qui se produit encore de temps en temps...

Et maintenant, on allait écouter ce que Youffa avait à dire.

Le silence tombe sur la salle.
Youffa se lève, tire sur son veston, pose sa sacoche et ses papiers sur sa chaise et, embrassant toute la salle du regard, commence à parler d'une voix basse, en s'arrêtant souvent. Il regarde tantôt le plafond, tantôt la fenêtre.

— Dans deux mois, le 15 juin très exactement, j'aurai soixante ans. C'est, comme on dit, un âge respectable. J'ai eu, depuis le temps, le loisir de réfléchir. Et matière à réflexion. Mais je ne veux pas vous imposer mes réflexions : vous êtes fatigués. Je voudrais simplement que vous tous qui êtes assis dans cette salle compreniez ce qui s'est passé en moi, quand j'ai déposé ma demande. On a dit beaucoup de choses, tout à l'heure : des choses offensantes. Je ne veux pas les répéter : les gens qui ont parlé me connaissent bien, depuis de longues années. Je pense, oui : je crois, et j'espère qu'en rentrant chez eux, ils s'efforceront de cacher ces paroles à leurs enfants... croyez-moi, cela vaudra mieux.

La salle s'agite. Abraham Lazarevitch poursuit toujours. Plus tard, il s'étonnera de cette tranquillité, des mots qui semblaient couler, sans effort. — Mais il ne s'agit pas de cela. Il s'agit de quelque chose de plus grave, de plus important : il s'agit de la demande que j'ai faite et des motifs qui m'ont poussé à la faire. Je comprends très bien que cette démarche puisse paraître étrange à beaucoup d'entre vous : qu'un homme né sur cette terre, qui l'a défendue pendant la guerre, qui a étudié et travaillé, avant et après la guerre, qu'un homme qui a du mal à lire le yiddish et ne connaît rien à l'hébreu désire soudain, à mon âge, partir dans un pays étranger — où vivent des gens dont il ne sait rien, où l'on parle une langue qu'il ne connaît pas, avec un régime qu'il ne connaît pas ; un pays où la guerre se poursuit encore, au nom d'intérêts qui ne sont pas les miens. Oui, ça peut paraître étrange, mais seulement à première vue. Oui, à première vue seulement.

Abraham Lazarevitch s'arrête, s'approche de la table et se verse un verre d'eau.

— Il est naturel qu'un homme s'habitue à tout, au pire comme au meilleur. Nous nous habitons aux nouveaux quartiers, aux bâtiments neufs, aux colonnades, et les arcades sont remplacées par des maisons qui ressemblent à des boîtes. On les regarde et l'on se dit : « Bon, puisque c'est ça... » Et l'on vit dans ces villes nouvelles, on y travaille, on ne pense plus aux arbres... Mais parfois il te vient l'envie de revoir la forêt, de prendre ton gosse par la main et de l'emmener faire un tour sous les grands arbres... Voilà. Moi, j'ai eu envie de revoir la forêt, même s'il y a encore des loups...

— Ou plutôt des hyènes, interrompt quelqu'un dans la salle. Et de toutes façons, assez de littérature, crie quelqu'un d'autre.

Abraham lève la main.

— D'accord... Il m'est difficile de parler, difficile aussi d'apprécier la sincérité de ceux qui ont parlé tout à l'heure. Moi, je serai franc avec vous — il se met à parler plus fort — je n'ai rien à cacher. Je vous dirai que, personnellement, je n'ai jamais souffert de l'antisémitisme ; est-ce que cela veut

xviii

dire que l'antisémitisme n'existe pas en Union Soviétique ? Il existe. Divers bruits se font entendre dans la salle, Barouzdine frappe une carafe de son crayon en criant « silence ». Oui, il existe.

Et je ne parle pas de ce qu'on dit parfois à la radio : pas d'écoles juives ni de journaux juifs, et très peu de synagogues... (quelqu'un demande, dans la salle : « tu écoutes donc la B.B.C. ? »). Non, il ne s'agit pas de cela. Ni qu'un ivrogne — et quelquefois aussi un homme sobre — te traite de sale Youpin. Ce qui compte, ce dont il ne convient pas de parler, mais que tous savent parfaitement : le numerus clausus pour les étudiants ; ou bien, par exemple, le professeur de mon fils qui, voyant dans son album un timbre israélien, lui ordonne de le jeter aussitôt. Qu'un homme qui voulait déposer une gerbe au monument de Babi-Yar ait été obligé de traduire l'inscription écrite en hébreu, que finalement on lui a refusé l'autorisation... Pas plus tard qu'avant-hier, je me présente au département des visas de l'OVIR, pour savoir où en était ma demande. Le major, la poitrine constellée de médailles, me dit : « S'il n'en tenait qu'à moi, je vous ficherais tous en tas, et mon pied au cul ».

Comment appelez-vous cela ? L'amitié entre les peuples ?

Ces mots, on me les a dits, en me regardant droit dans les yeux. Après ça : oui, j'ai envie d'aller vivre dans ce petit pays qui se bat pour son droit à l'existence, où personne, qu'il soit ivre ou pas, ne m'appellera jamais « sale youpin » ; c'est ça que vous appelez trahison — et vous insinuez que je vais aller vendre Dieu sait quels secrets ? C'est insupportable.

Abraham Lazarevitch se tourne vers le Bureau, pour ajouter quelque chose, mais il secoue la tête et se rassoit. Il se sent très faible, tout à coup, comme s'il allait avoir mal au cœur. Il fouille dans sa serviette et prend un cachet. La salle semble agitée de vagues et, bien que personne n'ait crié, Nicolai Alexandrovitch frappe de nouveau sur la carafe avec son crayon : « Du calme, camarades, s'il vous plaît » ? Tout en se demandant quoi faire. Fallait-il l'excuser du Parti, ou quoi ?

Et Abraham se demande pourquoi il a dit tout cela ? Dans quel but ? De quoi veut-il les convaincre ? De quoi veut-il se justifier ? Pourquoi cette parole ? On dirait Dimitrov au procès de Leipzig...

Et Kolia Koudriavzev roule des pensées aussi lourdes que des pierres et se demande comment un type aussi inoffensif a pu se faire si mal voir ? Pourquoi ont-ils l'air si acharnés à le perdre ? C'est parce qu'il est différent, voilà ce qu'il se dit à lui-même, c'est pour ça qu'ils veulent le noyer, les chiens ! Il a follement envie de casser la gueule à quelqu'un, une gueule comme celle du secrétaire du bureau du Parti, ou du chef du Raïkom, ou celle du sous-directeur, avec son air constipé — et de tous les membres du bureau. Et de tous ceux qui sont assis dans cette salle.

Ce soir-là, étendu sur son divan, enveloppé d'un plaid (il a des frissons, malgré la douceur de l'air), Abraham Lazarevitch raconte tout ça à son fils, Borka, qui a quinze ans :

— Tu aurais vu leurs têtes, Boris, après la réunion ! Ils venaient de condamner un homme et vite, chacun chez soi. Vite, qu'on retrouve la femme, les enfants, les petits-enfants ! Et là, devant leur assiette de bortsch, ils bouffent en silence, l'œil perdu dans le journal du soir. Ou alors, ils marmonnent —

xlix

si c'est pas malheureux qu'il y ait encore de ces imbéciles au monde. Et ceux qui sont plus francs disent qu'il faudrait les fourrer tous sur un bateau, avec leur barda, et leurs mœurs aux yeux de grenouilles, et puis : bon vent, bon débarras... allez au diable, et le bonjour à la vieille Golda ! Qu'est-ce qu'on a besoin d'eux ? Voilà, mon petit. Et ton vieil idiot de père qui cherche encore à leur expliquer — à les convaincre... Expliquer quoi ? Et à qui ? Quand on est passé au vote sur l'exclusion, il y a eu une voix, tu entends, une seule voix contre ! Un inconnu, un petit gars. Un serrurier, qui s'appelle, je crois, Koudriavzev ; qui s'est permis de ne pas être d'accord. D'avoir son opinion. Qu'est-ce que tu en dis, Boris ?

Borka se tait et tortille un bout de fil de fer entre ses doigts.
— J'ai vu comment notre Barouzdine est allé vers lui, ainsi que le secrétaire du comité, et quelqu'un encore, un type du personnel, je crois ; ils l'ont emmené dans un coin, je me demande ce qu'ils ont bien pu lui dire. Pendant ce temps, Kolia Koudriavzev prend un verre avec des copains, au Petouchok. Il raconte lui aussi comment ça c'est passé.

— A tous les diables, j'avais envie de les envoyer, cette tête de lard du Comité régional, et le Barouzdine, et cette punaise du personnel... J'en étais malade. Tu t'élèves contre le Parti, qu'ils disent. Tu défends la lie de la société, tu vois pas ? qu'ils font. C'est la lie, c'est un déserteur, un revanchard — et allez donc ! Alors moi, je leur dis les bas-fonds, connais pas ; mais vous, je leur fais, vous lui tombez dessus parce qu'il n'est pas comme vous — c'est tout simple. Je sais pas ce qui m'a pris, mais c'est sorti comme ça. Et eux, y me regardent avec des yeux comme des fentes, et le type du comité régional, le caïd, celui qui avait été le plus fort contre le Juif, il me dit comme ça : « on se reverra — on va te remettre les idées à l'endroit ». Essayez donc, que je lui réponds, et j'allume une cigarette, et en route.

— Tu as dit ça ?

— Comme ça !

— T'as eu tort. Tu fonces tête baissée...

— Qu'est-ce que c'est que cette histoire ? Je ne force nulle part : j'ai dit ce que je pensais, voilà tout.

Au comptoir, un type au nez brusqué et aux yeux noirs, qui ressemble à un Grec, se met à siffler :

— C'est comme ça qu'on se fait fiche hors du Parti, vite fait, petit.

— J'en ai rien à foutre. Je ne tiens pas à devenir directeur, ni sous-directeur, et si je ne suis pas du Parti, eh bien, l'argent des cotisations, je le dépenserai comme ça — il tapote la bouteille avec ses doigts. Et puis, il change de ton : Tu dis qu'il faut rester dans le rang ! Eh bien moi, j'y suis rentré pour qu'ils cessent de me bassiner. Inscris-toi, qu'y me faisaient, tu as la vie devant toi, ce sont les jeunes comme toi qui doivent construire l'avenir. D'accord, que je fais — bon, va pour la construction, va pour les réunions, il y a toujours quelque chose à apprendre, peut-être que je deviendrai plus intelligent. On m'a donné une carte, on m'a dit : viens avec nous sur le chemin tracé par Lénine, en avant, on va voir se lever l'aube du communisme. Tu l'as vue, toi, l'aube du communisme ?

Le type au grand nez ricane :

— Mais devant toi, voyons ; là où tu mets les pieds.

— Ça va — je parle sérieusement ! — Et Kolia distribue ce qui reste de vodka. — Je vais donc à leur réunion : il s'agit d'une affaire personnelle con-

xx

cernant un dénommé Youffa, un ingénieur. Moi, je pensais qu'il avait volé quelque chose, ou peut-être gaspillé les fonds communautaires, ou quelque chose comme ça. Je suis candidat, il faut participer. Qu'est-ce que je vois ? Un homme d'un certain âge, un Juif presque chauve, qui ne dit mot, qui dessine quelque chose sur un vieux bout de papier, et allez donc : qu'est-ce qu'on lui passe ! T'es un ceci, un cela, un traître, un vendu, tu n'aimes pas ta patrie, tu lui dois tout et maintenant tu ne penses qu'à te faire payer en dollars... Non mais, qu'est-ce que ça veut dire ? J'ai pas pu le supporter, je leur dis : « z'avez pas honte, laissez-le parler, cet homme »... Et il a parlé... très bien, avec un accent qui venait du fond du cœur. On l'avait profondément blessé. Pourquoi m'attaquez-vous ? il demande. Pour avoir travaillé toute ma vie ? Pour avoir fait la guerre ? Deux blessures, une contusion ? — c'est vrai, quelqu'un en avait déjà parlé — C'est pas pour ça, non : c'est parce que je ne veux pas rester ici, ni construire le pays avec vous. Parce que je veux m'en aller loin de vous...

Kolia, qui a pas mal bu, laisse courir son imagination : il refait le discours de Youffa et tâche d'être aussi convaincant que lui : Youffa veut participer à la construction d'un petit pays qui deviendra le sien — et où personne ne le traitera jamais de youpin.

— Parce qu'on l'a traité de Youpin ? demande le gars au nez busqué.

— Je ne sais pas. Et peut-être que non, mais on aurait pu ! Et Kolia soupire. Tout ça, c'est moche, vraiment moche. On ne peut pas s'acharner tous contre un. Et en plus, ils se tapent sur la poitrine — nous, on est bons et justes, qu'ils font ; on a des principes. Et toi, salaud, on va te coller au mur.

— Est-ce qu'ils l'ont exclu ?

— Et comment ! à l'unanimité sauf une voix, la mienne.

— Ça veut dire qu'on va t'exclure, aussi.

— Eh bien, on n'en meurt pas. Kolia regarde les verres vides. Encore un ? Un petit.

Encore un, puis un autre. En fin de compte, on se retrouve au poste : là, on dresse un procès-verbal dont on envoie copie sur les lieux de travail. C'est ainsi que se termine pour Kolia cette longue et absurde journée remplie de discussions et d'explications, et qui va marquer un tournant de sa vie.

Pour Abraham Lazarevitch, cette journée marque le début des épreuves. Deux fois par semaine, le matin, il se rend au Comité de district. Il est reçu par le juge d'instruction du Parti, un homme d'âge mûr, membre du bureau, qui a été juge militaire. Ils « se mettent au travail ». Le juge interroge et discute, essaye de convaincre, de faire peur, et quelquefois menace.

— Comment vous faire comprendre que si vous retirez votre déclaration, on pourrait clôturer toute l'affaire. A l'amiable. Personne n'a d'intérêt à gonfler cette histoire, mais on ne peut pas non plus l'étouffer complètement. Si vous la retirez, vous aurez un blâme, l'affaire sera consignée au dossier, on sera quittes. Ça vous amuse, de vous traîner ici tous les trois jours et d'écouter mes sermons ? Nous ne sommes pas de la première jeunesse, ni l'un ni l'autre. On connaît la vie, on en a vu de toute sorte et appris pas mal de choses. Pourquoi se compliquer l'existence ? Et il pose sa grande main potelée sur celle de Youffa, et le regarde dans les yeux, en s'efforçant d'aller au plus

xxi

profond. Quelquefois, il change de disque et parle durement, avec des intonations tristes : N'oubliez pas qu'il y a des organes et des méthodes de contrainte. Si vous ne voulez pas que les choses se passent bien, elles se passeront autrement.

Après ces séances, Abraham Lazarevitch rentre chez lui, absorbe un calman qui ne calme rien du tout, se plonge dans un gros roman, genre « La Saga des Forsyte » — et cherche l'oubli dans la compagnie des jeunes — et bientôt moins jeunes — Julian et Soames. Il ne va plus au bureau : on lui a offert un congé, le dernier de sa vie, sans doute.

Son fils Borka l'entraîne parfois à la plage : c'est un gosse affectueux et attentionné. Etendu sous un parasol, il suit du regard les petits nuages blancs et frisés qui passent au-dessus de sa tête, il se dit que tout cela l'ennuie à mourir. Il ne veut plus rencontrer personne, ni parler aux gens, ni subir leur compassion, ni écouter pour la centième, la millionième fois les conseils de chacun : comment se conduire, que répondre, à quelle porte frapper... Suffit.

Un jour, un jeune gars tout bronzé, presque noir, s'approche de lui et lui demande de lui prêter son journal ; puis il s'accroupit sur ses talons, à côté de lui. Youffa ne le reconnaît pas tout de suite, mais finit par voir que c'est Kolia Koudriavzev, celui qui avait voté contre son exclusion du Parti.

— Il y a longtemps que je vous ai remarqué, mais je n'osais pas venir vous trouver. Vous êtes ici avec votre fils ?

— Oui, avec mon fils. Il dit que ça me fortifie.

— Il a bien raison. Le soleil, l'air pur, l'eau, que faut-il de plus ?

— Ça ne suffit pas toujours, il semble. Abraham Lazarevitch sourit tristement.

Le jeune homme sourit aussi, découvrant des dents blanches, régulières, qui ignorent la fraise du dentiste.

— Je ne vous dérange pas ? Il y a longtemps que je voulais vous demander... vous êtes au Parti... il y a longtemps ?

— Plutôt : j'étais encore au front. C'était en 44.

— 44 ! Ça fait un bail ! Vingt-six ans ! Et pourquoi y êtes-vous entré ? Excusez l'indiscrétion.

— La question est compliquée. On ne peut y répondre comme ça. C'est sûrement que je croyais encore à quelque chose.

— Sûrement ?

— Sûrement.

— Et maintenant ?

— Ai-je le droit de ne pas répondre ? Abraham Lazarevitch sourit ; et bien qu'il ait renoncé à fumer depuis longtemps, il demande une cigarette à Kolia. Celui-ci court en chercher et revient se coucher, à côté d'Abraham.

— Si vous ne voulez pas répondre, vous pouvez... C'est aussi une manière de répondre.

La conversation qui suit et que Kolia rapporte plus tard à sa petite Lenotchka, lui paraît la plus importante qu'il ait jamais eue de sa vie. C'est ce jour-là, sous le parasol, que Kolia apprend des choses qu'il ne soupçonnait pas jusqu'alors, et auxquelles il ne s'était jamais intéressé. A savoir que le monde a été créé non pas seulement par le Dieu tout-puissant, vieillard barbu, assis sur un nuage, bon et susceptible — dont sa grand-mère lui parlait à la campagne — mais aussi par un démon tentateur.

XXII

— C'est lui qui a inventé la division entre hommes, lui, je t'assure ! Dieu voulait que tous soient heureux et amis, s'aidant les uns les autres. C'est lui ce diable, ce démon, qui a enroulé un serpent autour de l'arbre, qui a accroché une pomme, et c'est comme ça que tout a commencé. Adam et Eve ont eu honte de leur nudité. Cain a tué Abel, et c'est parti... C'est lui, le diable qui a divisé les hommes en riches et en pauvres, en forts et en faibles, en bons et en mauvais, en membres du Parti et en sans-Parti. Tu as tort de rigoler, c'est comme ça : les uns ont tout, les autres — rien, ou presque rien.

— Et c'est ton Youffa qui t'a raconté tout ça ? demande Lenotchka ; elle n'approuve pas cette amitié nouvelle qui met toutes sortes d'idées hérétiques dans la tête de son Kolia.

— Et qui d'autre ? Bien sûr que c'est lui. Je me posais certaines questions... mais c'est lui qui m'a raconté, et puis c'est son cas personnel qui me fait comprendre les choses.

Et Kolia expose à Lenotchka une théorie assez solidement construite sur l'inégalité des hommes et la répartition des biens en ce bas monde, ainsi que les droits et les devoirs de chacun — théorie où le Marxisme-Léninisme joue un rôle non négligeable.

— Ecoute, j'ai envie de boire quelque chose — dit Lenotchka, parce qu'elle en avait un peu assez de la théorie, et aussi parce qu'elle a vraiment soif. Kolia enfle son pantalon et court jusqu'au kiosque où il achète une bouteille de bière, éventée et tiède.

Le 15 juin, Abraham Lazarevitch fête son anniversaire : il a 60 ans.

Il se réveille de bonne heure, mais reste couché longtemps, les yeux fermés. Derrière la fenêtre passent les hirondelles, avec des appels perçants ; les pigeons roucoulent ; et puis, ce sont les voisins qui jurent abominablement en jetant des caisses vides, dans la cour. Abraham Lazarevitch reste étendu et songe à la nouvelle journée qui commence et qu'il ne sait trop comment remplir. Il ne doit aller nulle part, ni pointer au bureau, ni disposer des documents sur sa table, ni répondre au téléphone, ni assister à des réunions, ni aller sur le chantier de Novo-Bielitchi. Ça faisait longtemps qu'il n'avait pas revu ses camarades de travail ; en ce jour — si les choses n'avaient pas tourné autrement — ils auraient suspendu une photo de sa tête au-dessus de son bureau, en dessinant un torse avec des bras et des jambes (c'était Sacha Kotelenets qui savait réaliser ce genre d'œuvre d'art). Ils auraient collé un petit poème, du genre : « A notre Abraham Lazarevitch, pour ses soixante ans, nous boirons un bon verre et serons tous contents... »

Il l'avait rencontré, justement, Sacha Kotelenets, l'autre jour, qui courait, un filet rempli de pommes de terre à la main.

— Admire, lui avait-il dit, la victime de l'exploitation familiale — il avait un sourire forcé et brandissait son sac. — Imagine que pour toute cette cochonnerie, il faut trois roubles ! Je voulais acheter des champignons séchés ; un petit sachet grand comme ça, pense donc, ça coûte un rouble et demi !

Puis, comme si de rien n'était, il avait demandé de ses nouvelles.

— Alors, tu es à la retraite ? C'est une grande chose, la retraite. Le soldat se repose, mais le service continue !

XXIII

Abraham Lazarevitch avait posé quelques questions sur les camarades de bureau.

— Rien de neuf, avait dit Sacha en écartant les bras, chacun traîne son boulet ; on attend la retraite ; pour moi, encore une année à tirer ! Je ne me plaindrai pas : la pêche à la ligne, il n'y a que ça de vrai. Tu vas à la pêche, je parie ?

— Non, je préfère rester à la maison.

— Tu as tort, la pêche, c'est une grande chose.

Ils s'étaient séparés là-dessus.

Il avait rencontré parfois tel ou tel collègue dans la rue, en passant. On s'arrête cinq minutes, on bavarde de choses et d'autres, de l'infarctus de l'un, du mariage malheureux de la fille de l'autre. Jamais un mot de la fameuse réunion : c'est comme si elle n'avait jamais eu lieu. Il n'y a que Lempert qui soutient que dans la vie, il faut surtout éviter de se faire remarquer, qui répète :

— Ecoute le vieux Juif que je suis ; retire ta demande et tout sera fini. Cet Israël, tu n'en as rien à foutre. Ils sauront se débrouiller sans toi, tu peux me croire. Laisse faire Jarring, il est payé pour. Et qu'ils aillent tous au diable.

Abraham Lazarevitch, couché sur le lit avec la couverture jusqu'au menton, se rappelle toutes ces choses. Il se dit aussi que toutes ces démarches ont assez duré, qu'il faut s'arrêter. Mais il ne peut pas. Il continue. Il retourne au comité de district, il subit d'interminables conversations avec le chef du bureau, le juge d'instruction, dans l'attente d'une nouvelle convocation au Comité régional. Il n'en voit pas la fin. Et tout cela dégage un insupportable ennui ; il en a la migraine tout le temps. Il n'a plus du tout envie d'Israël ou de la terre promise, ou s'il en a encore envie, c'est seulement pour cesser de tourner en rond : pour ne plus voir les gueules méprisantes et haineuses des fils de l'OVIR, où il faut retourner pour s'entendre dire d'une voix dégoutée : « Je vous ai répété combien de fois de revenir dans un mois seulement ? Vous n'avez donc pas de calendrier, que vous faites toutes les antichambres ? ». Tout l'ennui, à mourir.

La vieille horloge qui date de son grand-père et que, par miracle, les Allemands n'ont pas volée, sonne huit heures. Abraham Lazarevitch se lève, enfille ses pantoufles, va à la cuisine pour préparer le petit-déjeuner du gosse. Boris dort encore, le drap rejeté par terre et l'oreiller sur la tête pour ne pas entendre sonner la pendule.

Il est en train de terminer ses examens — il ne lui en reste plus que deux : mathématiques et un autre encore, Abraham ne sait plus exactement. Hier, on lui a demandé de parler du conflit au Proche-Orient ; il a répondu honorablement, sans se perdre dans les détails. Mais ensuite, il a fallu que ce petit malin pose à son tour une question au professeur :

— Pourquoi dit-on de l'aide américaine qu'elle verse de l'huile sur le feu, et que nos fusées et nos tanks, c'est l'aide amicale aux frères arabes, en lutte pour leur indépendance ? Heureusement que le professeur l'aime bien et possède — aussi — le sens de l'humour. « Tu liras la Pravda, lui a-t-il répondu ; la troisième page : et tu comprendras tout ». Il lui a mis la moyenne.

Ah, Boris, comment faire ? Il grandit, il se tait. Il comprend tout. Il devient secret, sérieux, il passe des soirées entières avec ses camarades, à lire

XXIV

des livres peu recommandables. L'autre jour, Abraham a trouvé sur sa table « L'affaire Belis » ! Et Boris lui a demandé :

— Je n'y comprends rien ; ça se passe en plein régime tsariste, c'est la décadence et la réaction... il y a les Cent Noirs, des antisémites partout, l'armée impériale et la police secrète, et malgré ça, on reconnaît l'innocence du gars.

— Il avait de bons avocats : Maklakof, Karabichevsky, Grousenberg, Zaroutine, Grigoritch-Barsky.

— Qu'est-ce que tu dis ? Comme si les avocats de Simiavsky et de Daniel étaient mauvais ?

— Pourquoi tu demandes, si tu comprends tout ?

— Je veux mettre les points sur tous les i. Il y a des points que je n'ai pas.

Voilà comment il répond, le bougre.

A la même époque, un autre bougre, plus âgé de quatre ou cinq ans, Jenka Baroudine, empoisonne la vie à son père. Il est devenu « hippy », a profité des vacances pour se laisser pousser la barbe, la moustache et les cheveux jusqu'aux épaules comme Herzen, prétend-il. Il se promène en sweater avec des jeans insupportablement usés. Quand les parents protestent, il laisse tomber des réponses dédaigneuses et fatiguées : « Nous avons une autre façon de considérer la vie. Vos journaux me donnent la nausée, avec l'éternel sonrire stakhanoviste en première page ; et vos aspirations au bien-être non encore satisfaites, il faut le dire, me soulèvent le cœur. En plus, vous êtes des lâches. Vous avez peur de tout, des Tchèques, des Polonais, de Guinzbourg, de Galanskov... Même moi je vous fais peur. Tiens, à propos, papa, où astu mis mon magnétophone ? Ça ne fait rien, je le retrouverai, ou sinon j'irai chez Edik ; là-bas, on tremble moins qu'ici ». Il partait chez Edik et revenait avec une bande, filles et garçons. On branchait le magnétophone pour écouter les Vissotsky et les Galitch dont ils raffolaient.

Nicolai Alexandrovitch s'inquiète pour de bon : encore heureux qu'ils ne boivent pas. « Nous sommes contre le dopping, grand chef », disent-ils. Ils n'ont pas besoin de vodka, du reste — la discussion leur suffit.

Vassili Vassilievitch lui a dit, au bureau du Comité, qu'il devrait envoyer son rejeton chez le coiffeur, qu'il ressemble à un orang-outang, que c'en est gênant... « Comprends donc, Jenka, tu me fais rougir. J'occupe quand même une situation en vue. On m'estime, on me consulte, et mon fils se conduit comme un polichinelle et se croit plus malin que les autres ! »

— Je ne suis pas plus malin, mais je suis plus convenable. Je n'ai pas de Youffa sur la conscience, moi. A propos, il ne travaille plus chez vous ? J'ai rencontré son fils : il m'a dit que son vieux a été mis à la retraite.

— C'est vrai : il a soixante ans.

— Il va avoir soixante ans — son anniversaire tombe dans quelques jours. Boris me l'a dit. Ça doit être le 15. Il faudrait faire quelque chose, non ? Marquer cette date par une petite attention. Ça se fait chez vous, il me semble ? On foute un type en l'air, et puis, on vient lui souhaiter un bon Premier Mai ou un joyeux 7 Novembre... Tu devrais lui porter un gâteau, avec une bonne bouteille de vin sec, de la part des gars du régiment, comme qui dirait.

La semaine suivante, il revient à la charge : « C'est le 15 aujourd'hui. T'as pas oublié, le petit gâteau, la bouteille... »

XXV

Ce soir-là, le temps est lourd, un temps d'orage. Des nuages blanc-bleu puis gris-mauve et enfin rouge foncé glissent lentement au-dessus des toits environnants. Le vent se lève, couchant l'acacia qui est devant la fenêtre, presque jusqu'à terre. La pluie, enfin, se met à tomber. Ou plutôt, des trombes d'eau, comme on n'en voit qu'au cinéma.

C'est alors, au moment où les passants auraient dû être balayés par la bourrasque, qu'on sonne à la porte. Kolia Koudriavzev et un barbu, trempés jusqu'à l'os, avec une bouteille de Champagne et une bouteille de vin, hongrois ? roumain ? et aussi, dans un papier trempé, du saucisson, de la galantine et un petit pot de raifort.

— On est venu, en l'honneur de... C'est un grand jour. Dites, ne nous chassez pas, on est tout mouillés, ça ferait pas de mal de se sécher...

Il est visible que les gars ont déjà un peu bu. Ils l'avouent du reste : la pluie, il a bien fallu s'abriter... justement qu'on passait devant un bistrot. Et de rire — en tordant leurs chemises dans le vestibule.

Borka les aide, manifestement embarrassé, et fier aussi : ils n'ont pas oublié. Ils enfilent des maillots qui appartiennent à Boris et qui les serrent sous les bras, et s'installent sur le divan avec décorum, en repliant sous le siège de longues jambes poilues.

— Celui-ci, c'est Jenia Barouzdine, dit Kolia ; il représente, pour ainsi dire, votre ancien Comité du Parti — et le mien. Parce que — c'est vrai — j'ai quitté la boîte : incompatibilité d'humeur, quoi. Je travaille dans le parc autos. Bon, et vous ? Ça va ?

— Ça va, on grince un peu — c'est l'âge. Dans un mois, je reçois le premier versement de la retraite.

— Et pour le reste ? — Kolia détourne un peu les yeux — Le départ ? — Je fais les démarches, je remplis des questionnaires... Il y a toujours quelque chose qui manque... Borka, tu devrais mettre une nappe propre. Ta mère t'a pourtant appris comment on reçoit des invités !

Abraham Lazarevitch n'a pas envie de parler de l'OVIR, ni du reste. On se met à table, on remplit les verres. Jenia se lève. Ses cheveux mouillés collés sur le front, très sérieux :

— « Mazeltov », dit-il. Et ensuite, sans un sourire — même au moment de trinquer : Je veux boire, Abraham Lazarevitch, à vous. A ce que vous êtes. Les autres, au nombre desquels je mets mon paternel, ceux qui ne croient qu'au confort et à la prudence, qui font tout pour « qu'il n'arrive jamais rien », ils peuvent bien vous considérer comme un cinglé ; pour nous, ce n'est pas du tout pareil. Nous hésitons, nous tâtonnons, mais nous cherchons quelque chose que nous n'avons pas encore trouvé et qui fait si peur à nos parents. C'est peu de choses, c'est la liberté de choisir. Et de choisir nous-mêmes. Vous, vous avez choisi. A tort ou à raison, vous avez choisi ; et vous ne vous êtes pas rétracté. Que ce choix ne vous déçoive jamais, c'est le souhait que je forme, en vidant mon verre. Mazeltov !

Abraham Lazarevitch sent que les larmes lui montent jusqu'aux yeux. Il va à la fenêtre et regarde longuement les rigoles qui courent entre les pavés. La pluie s'arrête peu à peu.

Puis il regagne la table. Il n'arrive pas à cacher son émotion : il est très touché — dit-il — de ce qu'il vient d'entendre. Très heureux, surtout, qu'ils soient venus chez lui. Les dates, les anniversaires... il n'y attache personnellement pas d'importance. Et pourtant, il est heureux : oui, il est heureux

XXVI

qu'ils aient pensé à venir. Qu'ils n'aient pas oublié. Il se trouble et remplit maladroitement les verres, en tachant la nappe.

— Pour ce qui est du choix, je crois que tes parents ont raison de me considérer comme un cinglé, mais on finit par se fatiguer d'être raisonnable, crois-moi. Et pour parler en toute franchise...

Mais la franchise, ce sera pour une autre fois. La pluie vient de s'arrêter, de nouveaux arrivants se présentent à la porte : de vieux amis de l'Université : le mari et la femme, plus un neveu physicien. Les jeunes voient tout de suite qu'ils sont du bord de ceux qui considèrent Abraham comme un cinglé. Ils posent un gâteau sur la table, et une bouteille, et s'efforcent de ne pas voir les jambes nues de Jenia et de Kolia. On parle de la pluie, puis de la chaleur exténuante des derniers jours, du changement de climat, résultat sans doute des expériences nucléaires et cosmiques. Là-dessus, le neveu-physicien, enfourchant son cheval de bataille, entreprend d'exposer de la façon la plus ennuyeuse les progrès accomplis dans ce domaine.

— Tu n'as pas une bande de Galich ? demande Jenia à Borka, d'un air de conspirateur ; je voudrais bien « knockouter » un peu tous ces vieux.

— Il y en a un chez le voisin, et aussi un magnétophone.

— Si t'allais le chercher ?

Quelques instants plus tard, la chambre résonne d'accords de guitare tandis que s'élève la fameuse voix réservée, agréablement timide, de l'idole des jeunes, coupée de rires et d'applaudissements.

Au début, les visiteurs s'amuse. Les aventures du camarade Paramonof font rire tout le monde, et le mariage de l'ouvrière Lenoitchka et du bel Ethio-pien. Mais bientôt, on cesse de rire. Chacun écoute en silence, le regard perdu tantôt du côté de la fenêtre, tantôt du côté de la table et des bouteilles presque vides — tantôt dans la contemplation de ses propres ongles.

« Tais-toi, apprend à te taire », chante la belle voix contenue

« Si tu te tais, tu sortiras du rang

« Si tu te tais, tu auras de l'argent

« Tais-toi, tais-toi, tais-toi,

« Si tu te tais, tu d'viendras un bourreau sanglant... »

— Hé bien, dit le visiteur, quand Boris arrête enfin le magnétophone, tout ça n'est pas gai. Ça flanque le cafard... Et le plus triste, ce sont nos jeunes, qui ne jurent que par ce genre de truc... Il secoue la tête, regarde les « jeunes »... A leur âge, on était — comment ? Plus insouciant, peut-être ? Plus naïfs... Ou au contraire, plus déterminés, plus conscients, comme on dit... Qu'en pensez-tu, Abraham ? C'était les années trente ; ça n'avait rien de gai, pourtant — la collectivisation, la famine...

— Et l'année 37 au bout du chemin, répond Abraham Lazarevitch, alors que pour ces jeunes, c'est du passé, de l'histoire. Et l'affaire des médecins, c'est aussi de l'histoire.

Ils parlent de l'affaire des médecins, de Beria, du fameux Rioumine, déjà oublié.

A propos, dit Jenia, dans le dernier tome de la Grande Encyclopédie soviétique qui vient de paraître, on ne parle pas de Beria. Mais dans l'édition précédente, que j'ai vue chez mon père, à la lettre « B », on trouvait un feuillet : « Prenez des ciseaux ou une lame de rasoir, découpez les pages tant et tant, remplacez-les par les pages ci-jointes ». C'était sur le détroit de Bering ; c'était pour remplacer Beria. Mon père a suivi toutes les instructions comme il

XXVII

se doit, et le tyran sanguinaire a péri dans les flammes d'une allumette.

— Qui c'est, Beria ? demande Kolia.

— Et Iagoda, et Iefof ? Tu ne connais pas non plus ? demande Jenia avec intérêt. Kolia hausse les épaules — « Mais qu'est-ce qu'on vous apprend, à l'armée ? »

Kolia se trouble et rougit.

— Je ne connais pas grand chose, tu sais... il faut encore que j'apprenne.

— T'en fais pas, ils vont t'apprendre ! dit Jenia. Sur les pas de Lénine.

Lis-donc Leonid Brejnev, on le traduit dans toutes les langues, en ce moment. Il se fait un silence embarrassé. Le jeune physicien remplit les verres et rappelle le dicton : « On s'instruit à tout âge, on apprend tous les jours, ça n'empêche qu'on meurt idiot ».

Les vieux ne disent rien et vident leurs verres.

— Eh bien voilà — dit Jenia en posant le sien sur la table. Il reprend l'un des vers de Galitch : « C'était une erreur, une erreur, une erreur... »

La conversation languit. Les visiteurs regardent leur montre :

— Vous êtes pressés ? demande Abraham Lazarevitch.

— Oui... c'est-à-dire... nous avons une autre fête aujourd'hui.

Après leur départ, l'atmosphère se détend. On remet le magnétophone, on prend du thé avec du gâteau. On se sépare vers onze heures. Les chemises et les pantalons ont eu le temps de sécher.

— Hé bien — Abraham Lazarevitch serre la main des jeunes gens — cela m'a fait bien plaisir que vous soyez venus. C'est donc vrai qu'on peut se parler d'une génération à l'autre ?

— Nous non plus, on n'est pas parfaits — dit Jenia en riant : on n'est pas assez résolu, on n'est pas non plus très informés. Ainsi Kolia — il va falloir le mettre au courant sur Beria ; c'est un puits d'ignorance, ce type. Allez, on y va, Kolia ?

Les jeunes gens s'en vont en sautant gaiement une marche sur deux. Abraham Lazarevitch s'approche de la fenêtre, respire l'air rafraîchi par l'orage :

— Sois gentil, Borka, fais la vaisselle. Je vais me coucher. J'ai la tête qui tourne, je n'ai pas l'habitude... et il s'étend sur le divan.

L'été s'écoule, sec et chaud, presque sans pluie. Les cardiaques se plaignent. Abraham Lazarevitch ne se sent pas très bien non plus. Il ne se décide pas à partir avec Boris quelque part au bord de la mer, comme il l'a prévu. Il faut continuer les visites au juge d'instruction. Au bureau du Comité de district, on renvoie la réunion de jour en jour. Elle est fixée enfin pour le début de septembre.

Quand il rentre de la réunion, Abraham Lazarevitch est brisé ; il a les traits tirés, et se couche.

— Et le dîner ? — demande Boris — J'ai tout préparé, les croûtons pour la soupe... J'ai fait une salade de tomates et de concombres.

— Merci, un peu plus tard, tu veux ? Je vais m'étendre un peu... donne-moi un petit verre d'eau ; et les cachets qui sont sur la table, tu sais lesquels.

Une demi-heure plus tard, il se lève, mange sans beaucoup d'appétit

mais ne dit rien, et se recouche, un livre à la main.

A la réunion du Bureau, il n'a pour ainsi dire pas parlé. Sauf qu'il a bien réfléchi, que sa décision n'a pas changé et qu'il ne voit aucune raison d'en changer. Auparavant, c'est le juge d'instruction du Parti qui a pris la parole ; il est énervé et consulte fréquemment ses notes : il rappelle avec bienveillance les faits de guerre de Youffa — ainsi que l'estime dont il jouit à son travail. Pour conclure, et compte tenu de ce qui précède, il propose un blâme sévère, avec avertissement.

— Et peut-être aussi nos remerciements, pendant que vous y êtes, répond le premier secrétaire Vassili Vassilevitch, d'un ton sarcastique, et son billet d'avion porté à domicile ?

Après Abraham Lazarevitch, c'est au tour de Barouzdine qui déclare que peut-être bien, mais cependant, encore que — faisant preuve à ses propres yeux, d'un courage admirable. Puis un militaire, qui réclame l'exclusion ; puis quelqu'un qui soutient le militaire ; puis une femme à l'aspect sévère, pour qui une telle attitude mériterait certes l'exclusion, mais que vu l'âge, les faits de guerre et les décorations, on pouvait se contenter d'un blâme sévère, avec l'espoir que le communiste Youffa réfléchirait encore.

Vassili Vassilevitch parle en dernier. Il parle longuement, avec des digressions historiques abondantes et des citations tirées des classiques du marxisme-léninisme, ainsi que de dirigeants plus récents. Il conclut ainsi :

— Je ne pense pas que notre Parti s'affaiblisse en se débarrassant d'un de ses membres, qui ne mérite plus de porter ce titre glorieux. Il n'y a pas deux solutions : on est avec nous, ou bien contre nous. Votre choix, Youffa, démontre que vous n'êtes pas avec nous. Je ne dirai pas que vous êtes contre nous, sans quoi nous prendrions d'autres mesures, mais vous n'êtes pas avec nous. Ai-je raison ou pas, camarades ? A mon avis, j'ai raison... (personne ne réplique). Je propose donc de passer au vote. Ceux qui sont pour l'exclusion du camarade Youffa (il dit quand même « le camarade ») lèvent la main. Je compte : un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq... Qui est contre ? Un. Qui s'abstient ? Un également.

C'est la femme d'aspect sévère qui a voté contre. Le juge d'instruction s'est abstenu.

— Je vous prie de me remettre votre carte — dit Vassili Vassilevitch d'un ton qui cherche à souligner la solennité du moment — Et il ajoute : Vous pouvez faire appel auprès du comité de la ville.

Abraham Lazarevitch se lève et sort rapidement, de peur que quelqu'un ne le retienne.

Et puis, c'est l'automne. Il se met à pleuvoir. Les journaux annoncent qu'on n'a pas vu autant d'eau depuis l'année 1600 et quelques, et qu'il faut s'attendre à un rude hiver. Tout le monde se lamente à l'approche des froids. Abraham Lazarevitch, lui, n'est pas de ceux-là :

— C'est étrange, j'aime l'hiver. Le vrai hiver russe ; j'aime le crissement de la neige sous les pieds, les gros bonnets de neige sur les toits, la fumée qui sort tout droit des cheminées, et les marines qui se gélent quand on respire. On n'aura rien de tout ça, Boris, quand on sera en Israël. Là-bas, c'est le sable, les cactus, les pierres...

Au début, quand il venait de déposer sa demande, il pensait très souvent à cette terre, pas si lointaine somme toute, mais si différente de la sienne. Que savait-il d'elle ? A peu près rien. Seulement ce qu'il avait lu dans l'encyclopédie : un haut plateau, avec des vallées fertiles, un sous-sol assez riche, une végétation de broussailles et de maquis, mais des forêts de chênes-verts en Galilée, des pins et des oliviers. Il savait aussi que c'était un Etat bourgeois, entretenu par les dollars américains. Le reste de sa science, il le devait aux journaux, à la « Voix d'Israël », mais il passait toutes ces informations au peigne fin, car, fidèle à l'enseignement de Marx, qu'il convenait de toujours remettre tout en question, Abraham Lazarevitch ne faisait pas pleine confiance aux commentaires idylliques de Jérusalem.

Entendu sur son divan au sommier défoncé (pendant leurs dernières dix années, sa femme se levait tous les matins en disant : « Quand est-ce qu'on va enfin retaper ce sommier ? Il faut que j'aille voir Mme Tsetlin. Elle a quelque chose de très bien, qui nous arrangerait ça en deux jours... »), Abraham Lazarevitch s'efforçait d'imaginer son existence future. Il faut l'avouer, elle ne lui apparaissait pas très nettement. Il y avait la sœur, le mari de la sœur, journaliste — mais à présent ? Pas très clair. — Ils avaient trois enfants, des belles-filles, des petits-enfants. Et tous vivaient au kibboutz, quelque part près de la Mer Morte. Sa sœur lui envoyait parfois des colis qui mettaient deux ou trois mois à lui parvenir : du café en poudre, des bonbons et des cendriers, souvent avec un chandelier à sept branches, ou le bouchier de David. Dans ses lettres, elle écrivait : « Nous serons tous heureux de votre venue, et nous nous efforçons de créer pour vous des conditions de vie supportables ». Les mots « nous nous efforçons » et « supportables » troublaient un peu Abraham Lazarevitch mais, en fin de compte, que leur fallait-il, à Boris et à lui ? Un toit, un morceau de pain et quelque chose qui ressemble à de l'amour. Il n'avait pas vu Sarah depuis cinquante ans ; à l'époque, elle avait de longues jambes et des tâches de rousseur ; elle était capricieuse, se rongait les ongles tout le temps et refusait de manger sa bouillie. Et puis, elle était partie, avec ses parents, à Jaffa, et il n'avait plus entendu parler d'elle jusque vers les années 50. Elle s'était manifestée par l'intermédiaire d'un touriste venu d'Israël qui avait réussi par miracle à joindre Abraham, et lui avait remis une lettre. Une lettre brève, écrite dans l'idée qu'elle risquait de tomber dans des mains étrangères : « Nous sommes en vie et en bonne santé ». Grâce au touriste, il apprit qu'ils arrivaient à « joindre les deux bouts » mais aussi, « vous savez ce que c'est ? Un jour ça va, le lendemain c'est pire ».

Depuis lors, ils avaient échangé une correspondance pas très intense, à vrai dire. Dans une de ses lettres, elle l'avait invité à venir auprès d'elle, avec des tournures alambiquées, dans le style solennel de la Bible : « Puisent les branches des arbres qui se penchent sur les tombes de nos parents, jeter leur ombre un jour sur notre dernière demeure, à toi et à moi ». Voilà comment la petite Sarah couverte de tâches de rousseur, s'exprimait à présent.

Toujours étendu, il n'imaginait plus très bien ce pays inconnu, avec son haut plateau et ses vallées, et se demandait pourquoi il ne pourrait pas rester tranquille dans son propre pays (car c'est quand même le sien) et y finir sa vie. Il se sentait chaque jour de moins en moins bien — il dort mal, souffre de vertiges, avec une espèce de spasme dans la gorge — mais il ne va pas voir le médecin (A quoi bon ? L'un vous dit une chose et l'autre tout le contraire) ; il se contente de prendre des cachets.

xxx

Un soir, il se sent tout à fait mal : il transpire énormément, il lui semble que son poulx a démenagé dans sa tête. Il ne dit rien à Boris, mais le garçon comprend que c'est grave et appelle le service médical d'urgence. L'équipe arrive, au bout de deux heures. Les gars sont fatigués et revêches. On lui fait une piqûre. Trois minutes après, ils s'en vont en déclarant que le malade vivra sans doute jusqu'à cent ans.

Il traîne encore deux semaines. Un matin, Borka se réveille, prépare le thé et l'omelette ; quand il s'approche de son père, il s'étonne de le voir dormir si tard ; il s'aperçoit alors qu'Abraham est couché sur le dos, les yeux grands ouverts, et qu'il ne respire pas.

On enterre Abraham Lazarevitch par une belle et chaude journée du début d'octobre, merveilleusement transparente. La veille encore, il avait plu à verse, le ciel avait été couvert et bas. Le lendemain, il pleut encore un peu, mais la pluie rend hommage au défunt et l'air se fait léger et tendre. La terre sent bon, encore toute humide et couverte de feuilles mortes qui annoncent l'hiver déjà proche. On l'enterre dans la même tombe que sa femme. Et si elle ne l'avait pas précédé dans la mort, jamais Abraham Lazarevitch n'aurait eu droit à cet enclos réservé aux élus, sous les tilleuls centenaires, les ormes et le lilas — paradis désormais ouvert seulement aux secrétaires des Comités centraux, aux héros de toutes provenances, ainsi qu'à leurs épouses ; paradis hérissé de monuments immenses, sculptés dans le granit, où se détachent, en médaillon, les profils aux mentons volontaires, aux regards fixés sur l'avenir radieux.

L'assistance est peu nombreuse : quelques parents éloignés, quelques anciens camarades de travail, parmi lesquels Sacha Kotelenetz, et d'autres, que personne ne connaît et qui apportent une couronne de chrysanthèmes garnie d'un ruban noir avec une inscription en hébreu. Et puis Jenia et Kolia, avec Boris, serré contre eux, tout pâle, le visage creusé, les yeux rouges.

Personne ne prononce de discours. On jette un peu de terre sur le corps, puis les fossoyeurs font leur travail en silence et tout doucement. Une fois la fosse comblée : ils posent un petit écriteau : « A. L. Youffa — né le 15 juin 1910 — mort le 12 octobre 1970 ». Puis, on se sépare.

Jenia dit :

— C'est plutôt la tradition chrétienne... et pourtant il ne pratiquait pas notre religion.

— Et alors ? dit Kolia.

Ils s'installent, avec leur bouteille de vodka et leur saucisson, à la lisière du cimetière, là où passe la voie ferrée, à côté de la crypte aux murs en ruine, avec ses minces tours gothiques ajourées, et un ange penché qui a perdu ses mains, mais qui tient encore — par quel miracle — une croix. Des trains passent en contre-bas, à toute vitesse, annoncés par un sifflement strident et frivole, qui a remplacé la sonnerie gracieuse d'autrefois. Au-delà s'étend la ville qui perd, chaque année, quelque chose de sa silhouette passée. Des grandes tours, encore blanches, jaillies on ne sait d'où, font la garde autour du bâtiment de verre glauque de l'hôtel « Le Cygne ». Perdues dans l'océan des toits, les coupoles de Sophie et Vladimir, jadis solitaires, paraissent se rapprocher l'une de l'autre.

— Eh bien — dit encore Jenia — je bois au repos de son âme, comme qui dirait.

— C'était une belle âme, dit Kolia.

xxx

Un monument de calomnie antisémite

Remarques à propos d'un article de Dimitri Joukov

PAR YAIR TSABAN

Membre du Bureau politique
du Parti Communiste Israélien (Maki)

Borka ne dit rien, vide son verre et avale de travers.
— Il n'est plus question pour lui de la terre promise, dit Jenia.
— Peut-être que c'est mieux ainsi. Au moins, il a gardé ses rêves, répond Kolia. Est-ce que tu as des rêves, toi ?
— Mon père et ma mère en ont un : acheter une cuisinière allemande pour 130 roubles. Ils ont une relation qui leur en a promis une.
— Et toi, Borka ?

Borka se tait. Il arrache un brin d'herbe et se met à l'éplucher, comme pour se donner du temps.

— D'après la grande encyclopédie, il existe deux sortes de rêves — les actifs et les passifs. Les premiers sont créateurs, efficaces ; les seconds sont de pures rêveries, fruits de la paresse, et permettent la satisfaction imaginaire de vagues désirs. Je ne sais pas quels sont les bons, c'est pourquoi je n'en fais pas.

— Tu auras du mal à vivre — lui dit Jenia ; tu ne seras jamais un romantique.

— C'était foutu, au départ — réplique Borka d'un air sombre. Puis il se tait.

— Dis-donc, — reprend Kolia en se rappelant leur dernière conversation chez Abraham Lazarevitch, — tu m'avais promis de m'ouvrir les yeux sur un type qu'on a exclu de l'encyclopédie.

— Ah oui, Beria, Lavrenti Pavlovitch. Eh bien voilà : jusqu'à la fin de sa vie et sa disparition de l'encyclopédie, il a été considéré comme un homme politique remarquable ; puis on s'est aperçu qu'il avait été le bras droit du « Père des peuples » et que ce bras droit était la cause de tout le mal. Remarque, tout ça n'a aucun rapport avec le Parti auquel tu présentes ta candidature car le Parti, pour ta gouverne, ne se trompe jamais. Tu peux donc avoir la conscience tranquille et oublier Beria... il n'a jamais existé, et voilà tout... Il convient de garder le silence sur le passé.

— Tais-toi, tais-toi, tais-toi — entonna la voix claire de Kolia. Tais-toi toi et tu auras de l'argent, tais-toi et tu deviendras un bourgeois sanglant...

Une semaine après l'enterrement, une grande enveloppe rousse couverte de timbres, et portant le sigle de l'OVIR, arrive au domicile de Youffa ; elle annonce que Abraham Lazarevitch Youffa et son fils Boris Abramovitch sont autorisés à partir en Israël, pour s'y installer définitivement. Cette autorisation demeure valable jusqu'au 15 novembre de la même année.

L'article de D. Joukov « L'idéologie et la pratique de la violence », publié dans le numéro 42 de la revue OGONIOK est un monument de calomnies antisémites. Aussi est-il impérieux de faire quelques remarques à son sujet.

1) L'article de Joukov, de même que le recueil « Contre le sionisme et l'agression israélienne » paru cette année à Moscou et basé sur les publications du Rakah, emploie une méthode pernicieuse qui consiste à présenter les choses en dehors de leur contexte et de leur origine historique. Il multiplie des citations de la Bible et du Talmud, mais il ignore la nature compliquée et contradictoire de toute culture nationale ; il ignore en particulier que la culture antique se développait dans un cadre religieux. Pendant des générations l'antisémitisme s'est développé. Cela a commencé au Moyen Âge, cela a continué sous les Tsars avec les actions de la « Tchiomaja Sotnia » (les Cent Noirs) et on l'a retrouvé de nos jours avec la propagande de Goebbels. Ce qui est frappant, c'est que Joukov ait employé les mêmes procédés que ses prédécesseurs antisémites.

2) Ce qui est remarquable dans l'article de Joukov, c'est qu'il est fondé sur les textes de l'historien et sociologue allemand Werner Sombart (1863-1941). Or, Sombart, devenu vers la fin des années trente un adepte du nazisme, puis décoré par le gouvernement de Hitler, a alors occupé des postes importants sous le régime nazi. Sombart lui-même a déclaré vers la fin de sa vie que les racines de sa nouvelle philosophie se trouvaient dans ses premiers ouvrages dans lesquels, déjà, on peut lire ses déclarations sur les Juifs, citées triomphalement par Dimitri Joukov. Si Joukov avait jeté un coup d'œil dans la Petite Encyclopédie Soviétique, il aurait trouvé, au nom de Sombart, que celui-ci était « un vulgaire économiste et sociologue bourgeois qui a gagné plus tard les rangs du fascisme » (Edition de 1963). Remarquons que pour donner une apparence « scientifique » à ce document calomnieux, on n'a pas hésité à citer un homme tel que Werner Sombart !

3) Joukov agit selon la tradition honteuse de la « Tchiomaja Sotnia » lorsqu'il parle de la conspiration mondiale juive, de sa cupidité et de son désir de domination. Il ment sans scrupule et ses arguments rappellent le ton bien connu du « Sturmer » lorsque par exemple il choisit uniquement des noms juifs parmi les exploités capitalistes.

4) Il faut tenir compte du fait que Joukov s'efforce de montrer quelque « compréhension » pour l'antisémitisme qui régnait dans la Russie tsariste. Se référant à Sombart et y ajoutant du sien, Joukov suggère que ce qu'on a pris pour de l'antisémitisme n'a été en grande partie que la révolte justifiée des pauvres gens contre certains exploités de la société, qui étaient juifs, à la fin du siècle dernier. « Dans ces conditions — écrit Joukov — on ressentait la haine de classe à l'égard des exploités comme la haine des Juifs en général, on effrayait les coreligionnaires par le spectre de l'antisémitisme ». De là, évidemment, il n'y a qu'un pas pour présenter l'antisémitisme comme « la manifestation du nationalisme d'un peuple ou la révolte des classes opprimées, qui a joué parfois un rôle progressiste »...

5) Il présente le sionisme comme une « organisation de gangsters où l'on trouve la même obligation solidaire, l'élimination des hésitants, la conspiration très rigoureuse et la soumission inconditionnelle à l'autorité supérieure ». Cela nous rappelle les publications du temps des « blouses blanches », c'est-à-dire les manifestations les plus abjectes de l'antisémitisme à l'époque stalinienne.

6) L'auteur semble ignorer l'horrible holocauste et l'extermination de six millions de Juifs par les nazis, de même que la faillite des efforts tentés pour résoudre la question juive en Union Soviétique et dans d'autres pays socialistes. De plus, il semble ignorer que l'URSS a participé à la fondation d'un Etat juif en Palestine, destiné à être le

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dans la création de ce qu'on appelle « la question juive ». En cultivant dès l'enfance un sentiment de mépris à l'égard des goys, en trompant les Juifs par des promesses sur « l'hégémonie mondiale », ils ont souvent attiré la répression sur les Juifs. Par la suite, le capitalisme mondial s'est servi de l'antisémitisme pour tenter de résoudre les contradictions de la classe existant dans sa société. Ici, pourtant, il faut souligner une particularité du développement historique.

A la fin du siècle dernier, la majorité de la population juive des pays développés occupait des positions solides dans les couches de la petite bourgeoisie. Selon le témoignage de l'historien allemand W. Sombart, « partout en Europe Occidentale où on pouvait faire des comparaisons, les Juifs étaient trois à quatre fois plus riches que les chrétiens ». Au sud et à l'ouest de la Russie, le commerce du blé, du sucre, du bétail, et tous les débits de boisson étaient concentrés entre les mains de marchands Juifs. Alors que le prolétariat ne comptait que 0,9 % de la population juive.

Dans ces conditions, on présentait la haine de classe à l'égard des exploités comme la haine des Juifs en général, on effrayait les corréligionnaires par le spectre de l'antisémitisme. Le sionisme renforçait ses rangs, se couvrait du voile de la vérité, et ne renonçait à aucune duperie, à aucune bassesse. Ehrlich écrit : « La caractéristique du Bund (organisation nationaliste « ouvrière » juive - D.J.) donnée par Lénine, à savoir un maximum d'impudence et un minimum de logique » est d'autant plus vraie aujourd'hui en ce qui concerne le sionisme ».

Un journaliste juif américain, A. Lilienthal, a écrit que les sionistes « ont élevé l'antisémitisme au rang d'une foi ». « Grâce à un épichtage habile des nouvelles que rendent toujours possibles des moyens d'information favorables au sionisme, chaque incident qui se produit dans le monde et dont la victime est un Juif ou des Juifs, est présenté à l'opinion publique comme une manifestation d'antisémitisme ». Sur cette base, on est prêt à considérer comme

une victime innocente de l'antisémitisme n'importe quel criminel ou filou cité en justice — du moment qu'il est Juif.

Les sionistes se déchaînent surtout contre l'Union Soviétique. Le socialisme exclut l'exploitation et renverse l'industrialisme, c'est-à-dire les fondements mêmes de l'existence de la bourgeoisie et de l'esprit bourgeois, avec leur chauvinisme et leur agressivité. Le socialisme a détruit les murs que l'obscurantisme religieux avait élevé entre les peuples. Dans notre pays, les relations socialistes ont extirpé le sionisme. C'est ce qui rend les sionistes furieux.

L'insolence et les visées impérialistes des sionistes se basent sur le fait qu'une part importante de l'industrie, des finances, des moyens d'information des pays capitalistes se trouvent sous la dépendance de la bourgeoisie sioniste. Les sionistes israéliens reçoivent des Etats-Unis plus d'un milliard de dollars par an et des armes en quantités illimitées. Tout cela est démontré d'une façon frappante dans les articles suivants : L. Ron, « Les manifestations du fascisme et leurs racines », Ralph Palma Dutt, « Sionisme, objectifs et moyens criminels », André Gisselbrecht, « Idéologie et pratique du sionisme ».

Oppenheimer, le grand sioniste capitaliste, détient tout en Afrique du Sud. L'Etat raciste de l'Afrique du Sud constitue en quelque sorte le modèle qui sert aux sionistes à vérifier leurs idées délirantes. Oppenheimer participe toujours aux conférences des milliardaires sionistes qui vont jusqu'à se nommer « gouvernement mondial ».

Signalons l'article « L'importance de l'Amérique latine pour la bourgeoisie sioniste des Etats-Unis », qui présente un grand intérêt. Dans les années d'après guerre, 70 milliards de dollars ont été drainés des pays d'Amérique latine. Les trois quarts de ces sommes sont allés à des monopoles dirigés par « l'élite sioniste » : les Liman, Lazare, Blaustein, Stillman, Warburg, Kun, Guggenheim, Leó, Cahn, Rosenwald, Schiff.

Le lecteur trouvera dans ce recueil beaucoup d'autres renseignements qui démasquent le sionisme.

Сионизм
без прикрас

Dans le numéro 3 paru en mars 1975 de la revue mensuelle « Moskva » figure en post-face sous le titre « Sionisme sans fard » une critique « littéraire » de D. Joukov consacrée au livre « La contre-révolution rampante » de Vladimir Begun, publiée à Minsk en 1974, par la maison d'édition Balares ; ouvrage tiré à 25 000 exemplaires, prix 28 kopeks ; 192 pages. Ainsi, ce livre sera connu d'un plus vaste public, la revue « Moskva » étant diffusée à 279 000 exemplaires.

Ce n'est pas un fait du hasard si le titre de l'article de Joukov évoque le tristement célèbre « Judaïsme sans fard » de Trofim Kitchko. D. Joukov et V. Begun peuvent en effet être considérés comme des disciples de Kitchko. Ils mettent le même acharnement à distiller le poison de la haine raciale et à favoriser l'antisémitisme en négligeant même de le dissimuler sous le masque de l'antisionisme.

Sionisme
sans fard

Dimitri Joukov dénonce le judaïsme sous ses divers aspects, aussi bien religieux, historiques, qu'idéologiques. Reprenant les analyses de V. Begun, Joukov entend démontrer entre autres choses, que les manifestations d'antisémitisme survenues en Ukraine et en Biélorussie dans les temps anciens étaient en fait, des « réactions spontanées des couches asservies de la population laborieuse à l'exploitation barbare que pratiquait la bourgeoisie juive » ceci étant posé il n'y a plus qu'à les excuser. Quant au sionisme « il est comme le fascisme un fruit de l'impérialisme mais il a des racines plus profondes, plus étendues, et il est plus sournois » (sic).

Dimitri Joukov récidive...



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204¹⁰⁹

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11 July 1974

Australian Embassy,
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JEWS IN THE USSR

....

Attached for your information is a copy of the proceedings of a Round Table held in Paris in December 1973 on the above topic. The two principal speakers were Lev Kornblit and Kyril Henkin, both Russian Jews.

Malcolm Leader

(Malcolm Leader)
Second Secretary

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for Newton

**LES JUIFS
EN
UNION SOVIETIQUE**



**Pour
la libération
de Kouznetsov
et de
ses amis**

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202
EDOUARD KOUZNETSOV

Le journal d'un condamné à mort



Sommaire

EDOUARD KOUZNETSOV: LE JOURNAL D'UN CONDAMNÉ A MORT

Towarnicki : Journal du camp spécial n° 10 (L'Express)	4
xxx : En direct de l'archipel Goulag (La Tribune Juive)	5
Paul Gillet : Kouznetsov l'irréductible (Le Monde)	6
François Furet : Une bouteille à la mer (Le Nouvel Observateur)	7
Maurice Nadeau : Un irréductible (La Quinzaine Littéraire)	8
Guy Le Clech'h : Être Juif en U.R.S.S. (La Terre Retrouvée)	9
Rabi : Kouznetsov l'indomptable (L'Arche)	10
D.D. : Torchons et soviets (Le Canard Enchaîné)	11
Annie Kriegel : Un témoin différent	12

EDOUARD KOUZNETSOV: LAURÉAT DU PRIX GULLIVER

Déclaration de S. Zalmanson, épouse de Kouznetsov, lors de la remise du Prix	17
Lettre des membres du jury du Prix Gulliver à l'Ambassade d'U.R.S.S. en France	18
Réponse de l'Ambassade d'U.R.S.S.	19
Commentaires de la presse	20

POUR LA LIBÉRATION DES JUIFS SOVIÉTIQUES EMPRISONNÉS

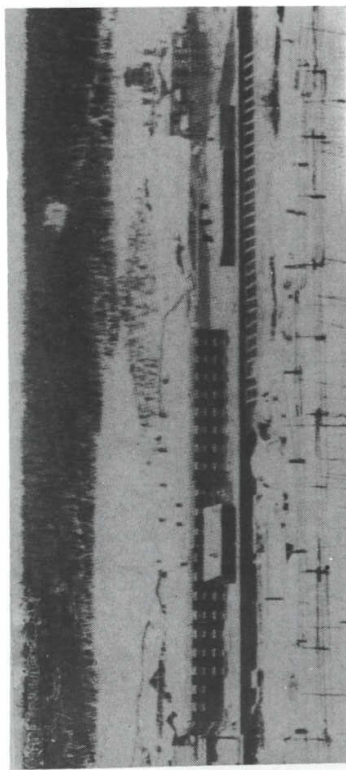
A la Maison de la Chimie, le 17 décembre 1974	22
Témoignage de Sylva Zalmanson	23
Interviews de Sylva Zalmanson : <i>Une juive soviétique comme les autres</i> (F. Furet - Le Nouvel Observateur)	24
<i>U.R.S.S. : Le prix du départ</i> (M. Voirol et D. Torres - Le Quotidien de Paris)	26
S. Zalmanson libre, mais inquiète pour les Juifs d'U.R.S.S. (L'Aurore)	27
Ils avaient voulu émigrer en Israël	28

KOUZNETZOV

Journal du camp spécial n° 10

Edouard Kouznetzov, 33 ans, a été condamné à mort le soir du 24 décembre 1970, à l'issue du retentissant procès de Leningrad, pour avoir projeté avec onze compagnons, dont sa femme Silva, de quitter l'Union soviétique en s'emparant d'un avion. Cette condamnation à mort à titre politique — la première depuis la disparition de Staline — a été commuée, en cassation, en quinze ans de camp de régime spécial, le plus dur. Plusieurs gouvernements étrangers dont, en premier lieu, celui de la France, étaient intervenus auprès du Kremlin en faveur des condamnés, fait sans précédent dans l'histoire de l'Union soviétique. Le présent texte, écrit en cachette par Kouznetzov dans la prison intérieure du K.g.b. de

Leningrad et au camp spécial n° 10 de Mordovie (U.R.S.S.), est parvenu en Occident par miracle. C'est par la volonté expresse de l'auteur que des extraits en sont aujourd'hui publiés. Kouznetzov, dans son camp, en a accepté tous les risques. Décision grave de la part d'un homme jeune, déjà déporté une première fois, de 1961 à 1968, pour avoir participé, avec Galanskov (voir L'Express n° 929, du 28 avril 1968) à la rédaction d'une revue poétique dactylographiée, « Phénix ». Le retentissement du procès de Leningrad et de son verdict, qui, pendant des semaines, a tenu l'opinion en haleine, semble avoir eu pour conséquence un assoupissement dans la politique soviétique.



L'EXPRESS - 18.XII.1972

National Archives of Australia

200

Le livre de Kouznetzov: Ex-directeur de l'Archipel Goulag

"Kouznetzov Edouard Samouilovitch. Juif, trente-deux ans. Libéré en 1968 après sept ans de détention pour activités anti-soviétiques. Condamné en 1970 par le Tribunal de Leningrad à 15 ans pour tentative de trahison de la patrie sous forme de fuite à l'étranger, à 15 ans pour activité organisationnelle, à 15 ans pour tentative d'appropriation des biens de l'Etat dans des mesures particulièrement considérables (c'est-à-dire d'un avion), à 10 ans pour reproduction (en deux exemplaires) conservation en dépôt et diffusion des Mémoires de Litvinov, à 10 ans enfin pour reproduction en un exemplaire, conservation en dépôt et diffusion du livre de Shub, **Portraits d'hommes politiques russes...**"

Telle est la présentation que donne de lui-même, non sans humour, le "zek", le détenu Edouard Kouznetzov dans une lettre collective adressée aujourd'hui à M. Kurt Waldheim secrétaire général de l'ONU, par un groupe de détenus, dans un camp à régime spécial.

On ne sait si le cri de détresse de trois détenus, dont un Juif, est venu jusqu'à M. Waldheim.

LA TRIBUNE JUIVE - 5.IV.1974

NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

« Journal d'un condamné à mort »

KOUZNETSOV, L'IRRÉDUCTIBLE

UNE liasse de quatre-vingt-six feuillets dactylographiés serrés, sans marge ni alinéas ni titres, ce qui se fait de plus compact dans le Samizdat, ce « marché noir » de la vérité soviétique. « Le premier texte de cette ampleur directement écrit dans la plus hasardeuse des clandestinités : en prison ou au bagne », selon son traducteur Jean Cathala. Mais surtout une œuvre singulière, une de ces hautes aventures où l'homme se mesure. Tel est le « Journal d'un condamné à mort », d'Edouard Kouznetsov.

Irréductible est, en effet, le mot qui convient. Car Kouznetsov n'est plus « réductible » à rien de ce qui l'entoure, ni au système social, ni au pays dans lequel il vit, à son peuple, à son histoire. Je n'ai plus rien à faire avec vous, ne cesse-t-il de dire. Je ne suis plus, d'ici, je veux m'en aller. Et il s'étonne : n'est-ce point le premier droit de tout homme, le plus imprescriptible ? Pourquoi me l'imputez-vous à crime ?

Se choisir juif

Il s'est choisi juif. Son père l'était, mais, mort lorsqu'il avait deux ans, n'a pu l'élever dans la tradition, à supposer qu'il l'eût

voulu. Lui décide de retourner aux sources. Est-ce parce qu'il a épousé une juive militante ? Parce qu'il est pris dans le véritable phénomène social que constitue, en U.R.S.S., vers la fin des années 60, la volonté de départ pour Israël ? Il ne s'explique pas là-dessus, et les détails biographiques viennent non de son texte, mais de Jean Cathala dans son introduction. Est-ce par conviction profonde ?

L'ironie est son arme. Elle transforme sa défense devant le tribunal en un pamphlet cinglant, croque sur le vif le jeune officier fraisé enroulé de l'école qui croit à la mission de la police secrète et rosi comme une jeune fille, saisit dans la routine quotidienne de diaboliques correspondances : quel hasard l'a fait placer en prison juste au-dessus de la cellule qu'occupait Léonine, la 193, la seule dont les carreaux soient astiqués !

C'est ainsi que l'on se fait « une idée saine de l'envers des mythes ».

Voilà sur quoi se fonde véritablement l'irréductible révolte. Au bout de tout, une compréhension neuve.

Quelqu'un est à sauver, l'homme Kouznetsov, à défaut de l'homme tout court, et le regard qu'il a conquis.

LE MONDE - 24.V.1974

National Archives of Australia

UNE BOUTEILLE A LA MER

Du fond de la Sibérie nous arrive, par miracle, la voix pure et fragile d'un « Russe malgré lui » qui a choisi d'être juif par horreur du système



Edouard Kouznetsov est ce jeune Soviétique qui fut la figure de proue du « procès de Leningrad », il y a bientôt quatre ans. Il était l'animateur d'un projet rocambolesque destiné à faire passer quelques dizaines de ses compatriotes en Israël, via Stockholm : il s'agissait de détourner un des petits avions réguliers qui font la navette entre Leningrad et le lac Ladoga.

Mais l'affaire est éventée depuis longtemps et le K.G.B. coffre tous ces conjurés amateurs sur la route de l'aéroport. Le procès a lieu en décembre 1970, avec gros accompagnement de tambour antisioniste. Kouznetsov est condamné à mort, en même temps que l'un des coaccusés. Il a 31 ans.

Les amis qui l'ont connu là-bas, dans ses brèves années de liberté surveillée, entre 1968 et 1971, me disent qu'il était hanté par le manque de livres : il demandait qu'on lui envoie Freud, Sartre, Nabokov. Même s'il n'a pu les avoir, c'est comme s'il les avait lus. Ce qu'il y a de proprement miraculeux dans ce journal, c'est une sorte de réinvention de la culture vivante, un autre Pascal redécouvrant une géométrie perdue. Rarement une voix aussi pure nous est parvenue d'Union soviétique.

C'est pourquoi elle est si fragile. Le 30 avril 1971, un gardien découvre sa cachette et son trésor : Kouznetsov se jette sur lui, reprend ses feuillets qu'il déchire en mille morceaux dans la cuvette des cabinets : passage à tabac. C'est la moindre des choses mais, surtout, il faut tout recommencer. Tout est recommencé, et puis tout est continué dans le camp où il est bientôt transféré. Cette chronique dont nous n'avons que le début, j'imagine qu'aujourd'hui même, à l'autre bout de l'Europe, dans le coin d'un baraquement, après une journée épuisante de travail et de tracasseries, Kouznetsov l'écrit pour lui, pour nous... Au moins je l'espère...

C'est pourquoi je résiste à l'envie d'en restituer l'aspect documentaire, bien qu'il y ait dans ce livre toute une sociologie des camps brejnéviens, faite avec un immense talent, et beaucoup de drôlerie triste. Dans un journal de gauche, aujourd'hui, en Occident, il est plus important d'écrire que Kouznetsov est à la fois un héros et un grand écrivain, qu'il nous est, à ce titre, précieux, qu'il faut qu'il vive libre, en U.R.S.S. ou (préféablement) ailleurs.

Quinze ans, à partir du jugement de 1970, cela fait 1985. Cette idée n'est pas tolérable.

LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR - 5.VIII.1974

NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

Kouznetzov l'irréductible

Dans les années soixante, Edouard Kouznetzov était un étudiant parmi des milliers d'autres. Avec ces milliers d'autres il accueille dans l'enthousiasme les révélations de Khrouchtchev.

Kouznetzov participe à la lecture de poèmes devant la statue de Maïakovski. Il collabore à de mini-revues qui ne sont encore clandestines, pense-t-il, qu'en raison du lourd passé qu'il faut secouer. On trouve chez lui des ouvrages « anti-soviétiques » publiés à l'étranger, il est arrêté. En fait d'admonestation on le condamne à sept ans de bagnes. Il vient d'avoir vingt ans. Il ne comprend pas.

Kouznetzov ne se targe pas d'être un « intellectuel », mais son père est juif. C'est assez pour qu'il revendique son appartenance à la catégorie des pestiférés. A l'étonnement ricanant des autorités il exige, sans succès, qu'on remplace sur son passeport intérieur la mention « russe » par « juif ». Il s'est entre-temps couvert une patrie : Israël.

Sept mois après leur arrestation, le 16 décembre 1970, onze accusés comparaissent devant le tribunal de Leningrad.

Kouznetzov voit sa peine commuée en quinze ans de bagnes. Par raffinement bureaucratique on le renvoie dans le camp où il a déjà été détenu durant sept ans. Il y revoit les mêmes gardiens (quelques-uns sont montés en grade), les anciens compagnons de chiourme. « *Me voilà arrivé. Je dirais presque : chez moi* ».

La machine n'a pas broyé Kouznetzov. A preuve ces pages que du fond de la Moldavie il fait passer en Occident. Par quel miracle ? Et par quel autre miracle parvient-il à garder son sang-froid, sa lucidité, son courage de vivre ? Loin de mettre les pouces, il écrit au Secrétaire général de l'ONU l'ONU reste muette. Il écrit au Praesidium suprême de l'URSS pour dire une fois de plus que, refusant la qualité de « citoyen soviétique », il ne relève pas de la juridiction de ce pays. Encore et peine perdues. Dans les dernières lignes de son *Journal* il annonce qu'il se solidarise avec un gréviste de la faim et le *Journal* se termine sur ces mots : « *Il faut vaincre, ou les autres nous auront* ». Vaincre ? Kouznetzov est toujours en Moldavie. Pour jusqu'en 1985. □

LA QUINZAINÉ LITTÉRAIRE - 16.V.1974

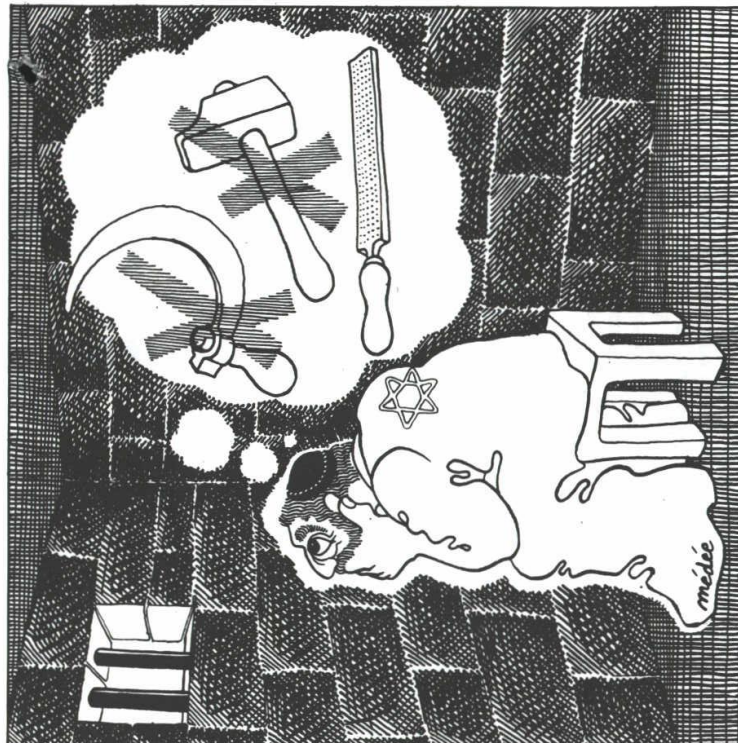
ETRE JUIF EN RUSSIE SOVIETIQUE

Le pénitencier. Une fois grâcié, il est envoyé au camp de Potma. Là, il procède à une étude quasi sociologique des nationalités et des catégories sociales des prisonniers qui partagent son sort. Et ce, alors qu'il lui devient de plus en plus difficile d'écrire sans être repéré par les gardiens. Comme le lui déclare le représentant du K.G.B. au camp : « *Ici, ce n'est pas un établissement correctif mais punitif. Notre rôle est de vous briser jusqu'à ce que vous deveniez sage comme une image.* »

Edouard Kouznetzov tombe malade. Les soins qui lui sont accordés sont dérisoires. Il fait la grève de la faim et, toujours intraitable, signifie sa renonciation à la nationalité soviétique.

LA TERRE RETROUVÉE - 31.V.1974

kouznetsov, l'indomptable



Sur les co-détenus, l'homme porte un regard à la fois cruel et compatissant. La plupart sont des droit-communs. Parfois figure un Juif, par exemple ce Berger, tout droit sorti de la Moldavanka des Contes d'Isaac Babel. L'antisémitisme est très répandu ici : même Brejnev et Kossyguine sont considérés comme juifs. « Les Juifs ont mis la

main sur tout ». C'est l'exemple célien déliant type. Cet antisémitisme des camps, que tous les mémorialistes ont confirmé, n'est au surplus que le reflet de celui de la société globale, où la haine du Juif est inséparable de celle de l'intellectuel : « Juif et intellectuel étant inséparables dans l'imagerie populaire... », réflexion qui va loin.

L'ARCHE - 26.VI.1974

National Archives of Australia

Torchons et soviets

197

Certain procès, le 16 décembre 1970, y a été pour quelque chose. Neuf Juifs, un Russe et un Ukrainien, avaient été arrêtés avant d'avoir perpétré leur crime odieux : s'emparer d'un avion pour filer en Suède. Pas le bol, les camarades ! Le chef des conjurés, Edouard Kouznetsov, ayant été condamné à mort (peine commuée par la suite), estima qu'il n'avait rien à perdre en faisant connaître à l'extérieur, via Samizdat (éditions clandestines) son *Journal d'un condamné à mort* (paru chez Gallimard).



Kouznetsov ne se veut, ne se sent pas Russe. S'il s'est choisi juif, c'est pour montrer l'absurdité et l'inhumanité du système. Ces lignes, écrites en se cachant, évoquent davantage le poignant *Souvenirs de la maison des morts* que *l'Archipel du Goulag* qui tient moins le coup par comparaison.

« Les hommes, c'est bon à aimer de loin. Comme la Russie », écrit Kouznetsov. Il a encore douze ans à tirer...

LE CANARD ENCHAÎNÉ - 21.VII.1974

NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

Un témoin différent

Allocution prononcée par Annie Kriegel

à la Maison de la Chimie, le 17 décembre 1974

Pour rédiger, il y a quelques années, mon étude sur les grands procès dans les systèmes communistes, j'ai été tout naturellement dans la pénible obligation d'analyser de manière quasi exhaustive l'importante littérature publiée, depuis près de quarante ans, par des témoins ayant survécu à leur expérience personnelle du système terroriste en Union Soviétique et dans les pays de démocratie populaire.

Je croyais donc avoir répertorié tous les types d'accusés, d'accusations, d'accusateurs successivement requis pour que procès et camps remplissent leur infernale fonction pédagogique. Mais, quand j'ai lu cette année le « *Journal d'un condamné à mort* », d'Edouard Koutnetsov, j'ai su que je m'étais trompée : il y avait là un témoin différent de tous ceux qu'il m'avait été donné d'entendre.

Ce qui m'a saisi tout d'abord, ce fut le climat de gaieté, oui, de gaieté dans lequel baignait l'ouvrage, une tonalité qui n'est pas, on l'imagine aisément, courante dans ce genre de livres. Comment ne pas rire aux éclats quand l'auteur nous rapporte la scène où il demande au Président de la section syndicale de son entreprise sa *kharaktéristika*, l'un d'entre tous les papiers, requis par l'OVIR, de ceux qui déposent une demande d'émigration : « Je me présentai le lendemain au Président de la section syndicale qui, après une série de questions anodines : - Pourquoi tu vas en Israël, ou : qu'est-ce que tu feras là-bas ? m'en asséna une qui me laissa pantalois : - Et si demain on envoie mon fils défendre les Arabes, tu lui tireras dessus ? - Comment ne pas lui répondre : « Je ne savais pas votre fils revenu de Tchecoslovaquie » ? ce que je fis. Et, bien entendu, on ne me délivra pas ma *kharaktéristika* ».

Une gaieté de titi qui fait que, d'une vanne, il crève la bouffissure des pseudo-importants. Le Procureur Mienolobov ayant soupçonné les conjurés d'avoir choisi de commettre « leur forfait hideux » le 2 mai, parce qu'ils voulaient gâcher la fête du prolétariat mondial. Et ce n'est pas pour rien qu'ils avaient ourdi ce noir dessein pour l'Année jubilaire, quand l'univers entier célèbre le centenaire de la naissance de Vladimir Illitch Lénine ». Koutnetsov commente :

« La fête du prolétariat mondial et l'Année sainte : c'était fruité, hein ? L'an prochain, ce sera le congrès du Parti, autre festival des prolétaires du monde entier : avec toutes ces solennités, on ne sait plus en quelle année on vous laissera trahir la patrie » !

La gaieté à aucun moment forcée, une gaieté qui n'est que le corollaire de « l'horreur du pathétique » qu'éprouve Koutnetsov, comme il le note en passant et qui lui fait apercevoir dans chaque situation concrète le côté burlesque : par exemple, durant le transport qui le conduit au bain, il lui vient à l'esprit cette réflexion :

« La nuit, dès qu'un de nous bougeait, tous se réveillaient. Le Grec me soufflait dans le nez, l'Iranien dans la nuque, et les cent kilos du Lituanien me chauffaient les pieds. Ah ! Russie, Russie, pays des vastes, des libres espaces qui s'étendent à l'infini... »

Cette gaieté, c'est finalement la récompense d'un esprit clair qui sait évaluer le prix des choses, parce qu'il sait d'abord analyser une situation et mesurer ce que l'initiative humaine peut en faire sortir. Koutnetsov, au contraire de tant de personnages pénibles, ne bascule ni dans l'angélisme, ni dans ce qu'il appelle avec bonheur « le sentimentalisme bras-au-ciel ». Lui qui a, comme on le verra, avant tout le goût de la liberté, il ne s'en dissimule pas le coût.

L'ironie de l'existence fait qu'aspirer à la liberté va toujours de pair avec l'intolérance. Et il en est de même pour toute volonté de changement radical ».

Lui qui est mieux placé que personne pour savoir combien la société dans laquelle il vit est dangereuse, il ne tombe pas, néanmoins, dans cette manie de la persécution que nous, vivant dans une sécurité évidente, nous cultivons parfois avec frénésie :

« Il faut savoir maîtriser la tendance au soupçon, à-peu-près inévitable dans des conditions pareilles. Combien en ai-je vu qui peuplent de mouchards et de sbires l'espace où ils baignent ! Est-ce pour se rendre intéressants ?... Retournez-les, et vous n'y trouverez rien qui mérite mouchardage... rien qu'une vanité hypertrophiée et la goutte de poison du ratage ».

Un esprit clair, qui ne se laisse donc obscurcir ni par la complaisance envers soi-même, ni par la complaisance envers autrui, mais qui fait preuve de deux aptitudes majeures : l'aptitude à apprendre et l'aptitude à raisonner de manière autonome. Aptitudes éclatantes : le goût des idées qui conduit Koutnetsov à « se jeter tout feu, tout flammes, dans un débat avec un idiot qu'il prend au sérieux », la capacité de se former un jugement personnel se conjuguent pour faire que Koutnetsov énonce, dans un langage spécifique que ne désavouerait aucun spécialiste occidental de science politique, des proportions décisives sur des problèmes aussi complexes et controversés que la Diaspora, l'Etat et la société soviétiques ou la société concentrationnaire.

Voici, par exemple, une description de la situation diasporique :

« Les bourrasques de la Diaspora furent trop brutales pour que le Juif garde la tête droite. Bien peu y sont parvenus. Quant aux chercheurs de

réussite, ceux qui aiment la graisse des marmittes de Pharaon, leur propre est une civilisation forcée, une tartufferie de bon enfant sous le masque de l'enthousiasme et, même dans l'attachement le plus sincère à une cause, le grain de sénévé de la distanciation, le scepticisme de l'intelligence qui observe du dehors, l'ironie de celui qui sait, à part soi, que cette cause ne le concerne pas ».

Voici maintenant une analyse de l'État soviétique post-stalinien et la stratégie qui en découle pour tout projet national, juif ou autre :

« Dès l'instant que l'État répressif est obligé de recourir à des méthodes de tyrannie plus souples et ne peut plus, comme naguère, tuer tous ceux qui le contestent, il se heurte au problème des rescapés du labyrinthe. C'est dans la nature répressive de l'État Russe : il n'a pas la souplesse requise pour intégrer les contestataires dans son système. Il tente de les écraser, les transformant ainsi, soit en ennemis occultés, soit en morts-vivants fort capables de ressusciter un jour, sinon actuellement pour la victoire, au moins pour la défaite. Mais les sceptiques ne voient pas plus loin que le bout de leur nez, qui vous racontent : « Les Tchèques se sont soulevés ». Et puis après ? Contre la force, pas de recours. Si lointaine que soit la victoire, elle exige une tradition de lutte, des légendes, des martyrs. Sinon, le caractère national se flétrit. La Jeanne d'Arc d'Anouilh dit que Dieu donnera la victoire aux Français quand ils auront, dans la bataille, appris l'héroïsme et l'amour de la liberté. Ce n'est pas son genre, au bon dieu, de vous faire tomber la manne céleste droit dans le bec ; il vous la tend, depuis là-haut : à vous d'aller la chercher ».

D'abord comprendre, et pour comprendre, observer, classer en fonction de critères et de variables pertinents, compter : cette stupéfiante démarche d'un homme qui n'étant plus officiellement qu'un forçat produit le premier rapport strictement sociologique sur une population concentrationnaire soviétique, tableaux chiffrés à l'appui et références détaillées.

Cette conduite de Kousnetsov n'est pas seulement un trait personnel méritoire : ce n'est même pas seulement un trait méritoire du peuple dont il se réclame. C'est bien plus essentiellement le fondement même du projet qui l'anime : s'il veut quitter l'Union Soviétique, ce n'est pas par haine de la patrie russe - bien au contraire, il dit explicitement que la Russie est sa patrie et il a un mot bouleversant pour cette Russie marâtre : « Que c'est bon à aimer de loin, la Russie » ; ce n'est pas qu'il veuille simplement aller dans la patrie qu'il s'est choisie, dans ce pays d'Israël, choisi comme tout homme doit pouvoir choisir une seconde patrie, mais c'est par amour de la liberté.

« Dans mon échelle de valeurs, la patrie n'occupe pas la première place : la première, c'est la liberté. Et c'est raison de plus pour que je me sente attiré par Israël, qui représente pour moi et la patrie et la liberté ».

Si Kousnetsov est un témoin différent, c'est qu'il témoigne que le sionisme n'est pas qu'un nationalisme vindicatif et attardé. Sion, c'est toujours, et le monde devra l'accorder pour le misérable déporté d'un camp spécial, la lumière de la raison, une raison positive, moderne et gaie.

LE PREMIER PRIX GULLIVER

Le prix Gulliver a été décerné, jeudi 14 novembre, pour la première fois au *Journal du condamné à mort*, d'Edouard Kousnetsov, traduit du russe par Jean Cathala (Gallimard), et à *D'Édipe à Moïse*, de Marthe Robert (Calmann-Lévy), un essai sur Freud.

Ce prix est destiné à attirer l'attention sur des essais au moment où tous les regards se portent du côté des romans. Emanation de la revue du même nom qui reprend son cours après interruption, il compte parmi les membres de son jury, renouvelable par moitié tous les trois ans : Jean-Pierre Faye, Robert Jaulin, Edgar Morin, Pierre Scheffer, Henri Laborit.

LE MONDE - 16. VI. 1974

197

Sylva Zaimanson, épouse de E. Kouznetsov, fût condamnée lors du procès de Leningrad à 10 ans d'internement. En août 1974, elle bénéficiait d'une mesure de grâce et émigra en Israël. Lors d'une visite en France, Mme Zaimanson a été reçue par les membres du Jury Gulliver qui lui ont remis le Prix décerné à son mari, auteur du « Journal d'un condamné à mort ». Voici ce qu'elle a déclaré à cette occasion :

Pierre Belfond - Madame, permettez-moi, au nom du Jury du Prix Gulliver, de vous remettre ce modeste chèque, que nous vous demandons de considérer comme un symbole de l'amitié et de l'estime que le Jury porte à l'œuvre et à la personnalité de votre mari.

Sylva Zaimanson - Je vous suis très reconnaissante pour ce chèque et je voudrais vous demander, si vous voulez vraiment me faire plaisir, que cet argent soit utilisé pour la lutte en faveur de la libération de mon mari et de mes amis...

Je sais bien que mon mari n'est pas le premier homme de talent dont les autorités essayent d'étouffer la voix. Mais il me semble que nous sommes à un moment décisif, où certaines choses peuvent et doivent être tentées, parce qu'elles ont des chances d'aboutir.

Il est donc très important que des hommes de bonne volonté ne relâchent pas leurs efforts pour la libération d'hommes tels qu'Edouard Kouznetsov ; non seulement pour des raisons humanitaires, mais pour que des talents comme le sien soient préservés. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire qu'une très longue détention stérilise les forces créatrices des hommes ; c'est donc à vous tous que je demande, puisque vous aimez ce livre, de faire encore plus si possible que ce que vous avez déjà fait...

Je vous remercie pour tout ce que vous faites pour faire connaître ce livre et le diffuser. C'est, pour Edouard Kouznetsov, un honneur, mais c'est aussi le signe d'un espoir...

Certes, lorsque le manuscrit est parvenu en Occident, il y a eu de nouvelles poursuites contre Edouard Kouznetsov, en tout cas un début d'instruction. Edouard Kouznetsov était persuadé que, pour le moins, on l'enverrait à la prison de Vladimir, qui est la plus mauvaise ; mais c'est sans doute grâce à l'intérêt suscité par le livre que ces poursuites se sont arrêtées d'elles-mêmes.

Le prix que vous lui décernez aujourd'hui devrait certainement aller dans le même sens...

Gulliver
FONDATEUR DES LETTRES, DES ARTS ET DE LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE

3 bis, PASSAGE DE LA PETITE-BOUCHERIE
75006 PARIS
Tél. 326-24-80 (LIGNES GROUPEES)

Paris, le 7 mars 1975

Mon Excellence l'Ambassadeur
de l'Union des Républiques Socialistes Soviétiques
79, rue de Grenelle

75007 Paris

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,

Le jury du Prix Gulliver a l'honneur et le plaisir de porter à votre connaissance que cette distinction, décernée cette année, pour la première fois, et destinée à récompenser un essai de haute tenue intellectuelle, a été attribuée à l'œuvre d'un écrivain soviétique, le "Journal d'un condamné à mort" (*Dnevnik*) d'Edouard Kouznetsov, publié en traduction française par les Editions Gallimard.

Nous nous permettons, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, de solliciter de votre haute bienveillance que cette nouvelle, accompagnée de nos chaleureuses félicitations, soit communiquée au lauréat par les autorités soviétiques compétentes.

Avec l'expression de notre vive gratitude, veuillez agréer, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, les assurances de notre très haute considération.

Firmin Edgar Morin
Françoise Giroud

André Bercoff

Jean-Rierre Faye

Yona Friedman

Henri Laborit

Pierre Schaeffer

Emmanuel Leroy-Ladurie

Jean Lacouture

Robert Maulin

Marcel Halter

GULLIVER EST PUBLIÉ PAR LE NOUVEAU OFFICE D'ÉDITION
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF AUSTRALIA

National Archives of Australia

Ambassade
de l'Union des Républiques
Socialistes Soviétiques
en France

79, Rue de Grenelle, Paris 79
Téléphone Ligne 95-463544

Messieurs les membres du jury du Prix Gulliver,

A la suite de votre lettre en date du 7 Mars 1975 j'ai l'honneur de vous informer de ce qui suit.

En Union Soviétique on ne connaît pas Edouard Kouznetsov en tant qu'écrivain. Le livre "Journal d'un condamné à mort" n'a pas été publié en Union Soviétique ni en langue russe ni en celles des autres peuples de l'URSS. A ce que nous sachions ce livre est parvenu en France d'une façon illégale et a été publié contrairement à la législation soviétique en vigueur.

Les membres du jury n'auraient pas connu ces circonstances parce que dans le cas contraire l'attribution de votre Prix à Edouard Kouznetsov, criminel du droit commun condamné par le tribunal soviétique, ne peut pas manquer de susciter au moins un étonnement.

Il va de soi que les circonstances susmentionnées ne permettent pas à l'Ambassade de faire l'intermédiaire entre les membres du jury du Prix Gulliver et E.Kouznetsov.

Je vous prie d'agréer l'expression de ma haute considération.

A. ARISTOV

Attaché à l'Ambassade de
l'URSS en France

GULLIVER
3-bis, passage de la Petite-Boucherie
75006 PARIS

NAA: A10136, 2011/4/2 PART 3

LE FIGARO - 19. IV. 1975

Kouznetsov : niet

L'U.R.S.S. prive de ses lauriers
français l'écrivain soviétique

LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR - 5. V. 1975

CRIMINEL DE DROIT COMMUN

LE MONDE - 20. IV. 1975

KOUZNETSOV L'ÉCRIVAIN INCONNU CHEZ LUI

National Archives of Au²⁰stralia

Pour la libération
des Juifs soviétiques emprisonnés

UNE RÉUNION PUBLIQUE AVEC

SYLVA ZALMANSON

(récemment libérée des camps de Potma)

LE 17 DÉCEMBRE 1974
Maison de la Chimie - Paris

NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

(Photos Daniel Franck)



Le 17 décembre 1974, à la Maison de la Chimie. A la tribune : Daniel Jacoby, Yves Jouffia, Laurent Schwartz, Vercors, Daniel Mayer, Sylva Zalmanson, Paul Coste-Floret, Claude Kelman, Annie Kriegel et Beate Klarsfeld.



National Archives of Australia

191

Chers Amis, je suis extrêmement touchée par l'accueil très chaleureux que vous me réservez. J'ai très longtemps pensé et rêvé de ce moment où je retrouverais ceux qui m'ont aidée par leurs lettres et par leurs actions et aux nombreuses choses que j'aurais à leur dire, et tout ce que je trouve à vous dire maintenant, c'est très simplement, merci.

Si nous avions eu, mes camarades et moi-même, le moindre espoir de pouvoir un jour quitter l'URSS légalement, nous n'aurions jamais pensé à risquer notre liberté, et éventuellement notre vie. Mais tous les appels que nous lançons aux autorités soviétiques comme aux organisations internationales nous paraissent, à l'époque, d'une faiblesse absolument ridicule : nous entendions déclarer, en notre nom, par les autorités qu'il n'y avait pas de problème Juif en Union Soviétique, que les Juifs ne voulaient pas partir et nous avions donc le sentiment que la corde se resserrait autour de notre cou.

Nous étions seize, et nous avons finalement décidé de tenter de quitter l'URSS sans autorisation - puisqu'il était impossible d'en avoir - en nous emparant d'un avion vide qui nous aurait amenés jusqu'en Suède, d'où nous serions partis pour Israël. Ainsi, le seul tort que nous aurions causé à l'Union Soviétique, eut été l'absence pendant deux heures de cet avion. Nous savions dès le départ que nous avions extrêmement peu de chance de réussir à quitter l'URSS illégalement, mais étant donné que c'était la seule perspective que nous avions devant nous, nous étions obligés de croire au miracle.

A la veille de notre arrestation, nous avions compris que nous étions suivis, et d'une manière très évidente. La police connaissait donc notre projet, ce qui n'est du reste pas étonnant, étant donné l'ampleur des moyens de la police soviétique. Mais il nous était impossible de revenir en arrière, parce que cela voulait dire revenir à une vie que nous ne pouvions plus tolérer.

Ma libération n'a certainement pas été due à la bonne volonté des autorités soviétiques. Elle est le résultat de la lutte de ceux qui nous ont appuyés, des manifestations de l'opinion publique internationale, et peut-être également de la lutte que nous avons nous-mêmes menée contre les autorités soviétiques. Ma libération est votre victoire. La reconnaissance que mes amis et moi avons pour tous ceux qui nous ont appuyés et se sont fait l'écho de nos souffrances dans leur cœur, cette reconnaissance, nous l'aurons toujours.

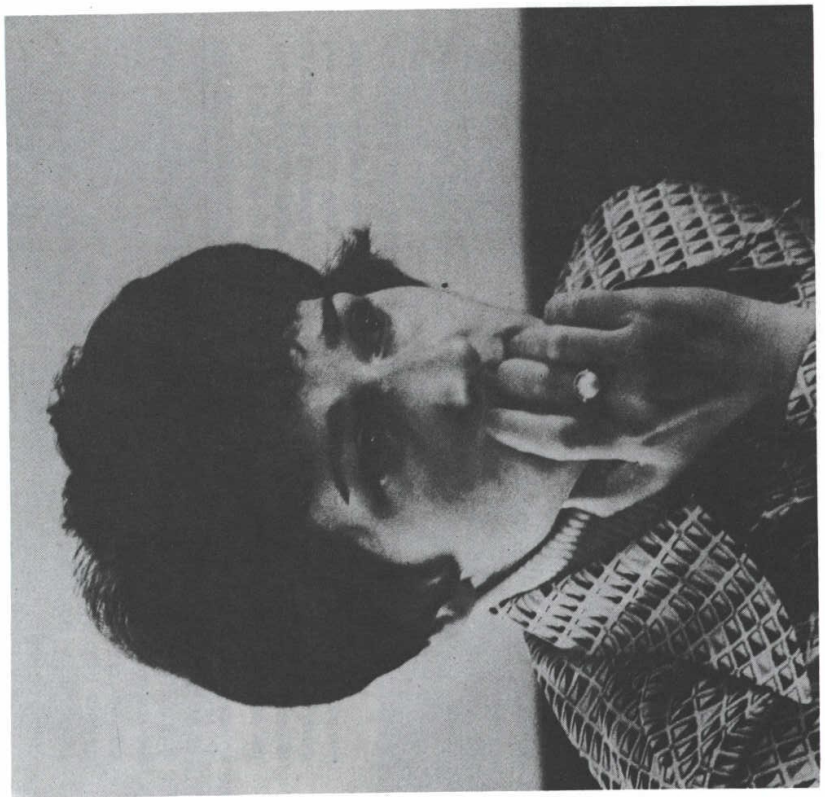
Aujourd'hui, je suis heureuse d'être en liberté, mais je ne ressens pas le bonheur que j'avais imaginé, car mes proches sont restés là-bas, et vivent dans des conditions très difficiles. Mon mari, qui a déjà été interné pendant onze ans, a encore onze ans d'internement à purger, mes frères ont encore six et huit ans à purger.

La compassion que j'éprouve pour eux est aussi de la fierté car, dans les conditions où ils vivent, ils continuent à lutter, et je crois que c'est une affaire d'honneur pour tous que de suivre cette lutte, d'y participer, et de les aider. Il faut faire l'impossible pour leur libération.

NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

UNE JUIVE SOVIETIQUE COMME LES AUTRES

La femme du grand écrivain emprisonné,
Édouard Kouznetsov, témoigne



Quelles sont, à votre avis, en dehors de la pression de l'opinion publique, les raisons de votre libération anticipée ? Y a-t-il une politique de l'Etat soviétique qui soit discernable à cet égard ?

S. Z. — Il me paraît difficile de surestimer la force de cette pression de l'opinion publique internationale, qui a arraché cette première concession aux autorités soviétiques. Je ne connais pas les ressorts secrets de la politique soviétique mais je ne vois rien qui ait pu les pousser de l'intérieur à cette concession, et je connais trop bien leur extraordinaire indifférence à l'égard de tout ce qui ressemble aux droits de l'homme. A mon avis, il y a l'action du sénateur Jackson aux Etats-Unis et la campagne d'opinion publique.

Vous vous attendiez à une libération anticipée ?

S. Z. — Absolument pas. Quand on m'a sorti du camp et qu'on m'a fait passer alors par toutes les étapes bureaucratiques réglementaires, j'étais persuadée que j'avais enfin obtenu le rendez-vous avec mon mari que je demandais depuis si longtemps. Et puis, en cours de route, on m'a simplement dit qu'on m'emmenait à Leningrad : j'ai cru à une deuxième condamnation, à une deuxième peine. Quand, arrivée à Leningrad, on m'a annoncé que le Présidium m'avait graciée, j'ai eu un tel choc que je me suis mise à trembler, mes mâchoires se sont raidies de telle sorte que je ne pouvais plus parler. Chose plus curieuse : mon père avait demandé ma grâce par écrit et il a reçu notification du refus de cette demande de grâce le 14 août, alors que j'avais été graciée le 13.

Vous avez vu Kouznetsov pendant trois jours avant de quitter l'U.R.S.S. Est-ce qu'il vous a dit quelque chose à destination de l'opinion publique internationale ?

S. Z. — Il m'a en effet demandé de dire que son existence actuelle était rendue plus facile par les lettres qu'il recevait, et surtout par les actions qui sont menées pour lui et ses

camarades, qui les sauvent de l'isolement. Le sentiment qu'il y a une opinion publique qui prend une part de leur situation est essentiel. Il m'a aussi demandé de remercier tous ceux qui luttent pour sa libération et il a ajouté — cela c'est très russe : « *Maintenant, les choses sont rentrées dans l'ordre ; moi, comme tous les gens bien, je suis en cabane, et ma femme est libre.* »

Dans le camp où se trouve Kouznetsov, quelle est la population pénale ? Quelle est la journée d'un déporté ?

S. Z. — Il y a des « droit commun » et des « politiques » mêlés. Kouznetsov, qui est en régime « spécial », c'est-à-dire en cellule, partage sa cellule avec un autre condamné. Dans les lettres que j'ai reçues de lui depuis mon départ — lettres dans lesquelles il lui est évidemment interdit de raconter la manière dont il vit —, il m'écrit simplement : « *Quelles que soient les choses que tu imagines, tu n'arriveras jamais à imaginer ce qui est.* »

Les conditions matérielles sont très dures : la faim, le froid, le travail. En principe, huit heures de travail par jour, en fait très souvent plus, il arrive que ce soit douze heures. Pendant les quinze ans qu'il a à faire, ce sera le régime cellulaire, avec une heure de promenade par jour, dans une cour minuscule. Ils ont une petite casserole, un genre de seau pour les excréments, qu'ils vont vider dans la tinette commune. Ils travaillent à polir des verres dans un local sans ventilateur : c'est très mauvais pour la santé à cause de la poussière de verre qu'ils respirent tout le temps.

Les conditions sanitaires sont déplorables, c'était la même chose dans mon cas. Le seul moyen d'obtenir un médecin est de faire la grève de la faim, qui est punie comme un délit, mais c'est le seul recours possible.

La nourriture ? C'est à peu près le même régime tous les camps. En principe 1 200 calories par jour mais cette ration n'est jamais atteinte parce qu'on vole la nourriture à tous les niveaux, surveillants, prisonniers qui travaillent aux usines et qui sont des « droit commun ». Et puis c'est immangeable,

URSS: LE PRIX DU DEPART

*Une interview
de Sylva
Zalmanson*

— Jusqu'à l'âge de neuf ans, j'étais une petite fille sans problème particulier. C'est en 1953 que j'ai pris conscience qu'un Juif, en Union soviétique, n'est pas « tout à fait comme les autres ». Ce sont les autres qui me l'ont appris. J'avais été malade. Mes parents m'avaient envoyée dans un lycée de plein air. Tout de suite, des enfants m'ont demandé : « Alors, tu es une « judovka » (« youpine ») ? »

— Comment l'avaient-ils su ?

— D'après mon physique, je suppose. En tout cas, j'avais répondu que j'étais Juive et ils m'ont fait la vie intenable. J'étais la seule enfant juive dans l'établissement. Les autres me battaient constamment. Les maîtres n'intervenaient pas. Au bout de deux mois, mes parents sont venus me rechercher. Le pire est que je leur en voulais presque, à eux, et que je commençais à dire aux autres que je n'étais « que » demi-Juive, que je ne savais pas si c'était mon père ou ma mère qui l'était... J'étais déchirée entre un désir d'assimilation complète et un désir de m'affirmer. J'en ai parlé à ma mère qui m'a dit : « Il faut supporter, il ne faut pas tricher... ». Un peu plus tard, ma famille s'est établie dans un quartier où les Juifs étaient nombreux. A l'école secondaire, nous étions presque un tiers dans la

LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS - 20.XII.1974

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classe, presque tous bons élèves. Et nous avions de très bons rapports avec les non-Juifs. J'ai connu là trois années très bonnes.

— Vous êtes entrée ensuite à l'Institut polytechnique de Riga où vous avez fait des études d'ingénieur en automation. Avez-vous eu des difficultés alors ?

— Au total, je garde un mauvais souvenir de cette époque. Une grande proportion des étudiants étaient des fils et filles de militaires de carrière. C'était un milieu peu sympathique où un antisémitisme latent affleurait sous forme d'allusions, de petites astuces, de piques apparemment innocentes, vous voyez le genre.

— L'idée de partir, comment vous est-elle venue ? Votre famille était-elle très religieuse ?

— Non, pas particulièrement. Nous respectons les traditions juives, les fêtes.

— Peut-on dire qu'elle entretenait l'idée sioniste ?

— Qu'entendez-vous par « sioniste » ? Je commence à savoir à quel point le mot peut être chargé de sens différents...

— L'idée, le désir de partir un jour, « l'an prochain à Jérusalem ». Au cours du procès, vous avez jeté comme un défi, en hébreu, le célèbre verset : « Si je t'oublie jamais, Jérusalem, que ma main droite se dessèche... ».

— En ce sens-là, ma réponse est affirmative. L'idée de la réunion sur une même terre des éléments éparés d'un même peuple s'est transmise en effet dans ma famille de génération en génération. Je ne me souviens pas du moment précis où elle est devenue consciente chez moi. Mais dès 1968, à la fin de mes études, j'ai commencé à participer à la diffusion clandestine de manuels hébreux, et de livres parus à l'Ouest. Nous constituons un petit groupe, et certains pensaient au départ, mais pas tous. Il y avait aussi des « démocrates », qui rêvaient, eux, de liberté d'expression...

— Vous étiez tous Juifs ?

— Oui, tous. Nous étions en rapport avec un autre groupe, à Léninegrad. J'ai épousé Edouard Kouznetsov. Nous avons demandé l'autorisation de quitter le pays. On nous l'a refusée. Alors, nous avons tenté de fuir... Vous connaissez la suite.

SYLVA ZALMANSON

Libre, mais inquiète pour les juifs d'U.R.S.S.

L'AUREOLE - 19.XII.1974

NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

Ils avaient voulu émigrer en Israël

Edouard Kouznetsov

Trente-cinq ans, interprète. Condamné à mort à l'issue du premier procès de Léninegrad, sa peine fut commuée en quinze ans d'internement sous régime spécial.

Israël Zalmanson

Vingt-cinq ans, étudiant. Huit ans d'internement. (Premier procès de Léninegrad)

Wolf Zalmanson

Trente-cinq ans, ingénieur-mécanicien, lieutenant de l'armée. Dix ans d'internement. (Tribunal militaire, décembre 1970)

Marc Dimshitz

Quarante-six ans, ingénieur, pilote de métier. Condamné à la peine capitale au premier procès de Léninegrad, peine commuée en quinze ans d'internement sous régime spécial.

Iosif Mendelevitsh

Vingt-six ans, étudiant. Douze ans d'internement. (Premier procès de Léninegrad)

Leib Knokh

Vingt-neuf ans, technicien. Dix ans d'internement. (Premier procès de Léninegrad)

Anatoly Altman

Vingt-neuf ans, graveur sur bois. Dix ans d'internement. (Premier procès de Léninegrad)

Boris Penson

Vingt-six ans, artiste peintre. Dix ans d'internement. (Premier procès de Léninegrad)

Youri Fedorov

Trente-deux ans. Condamné, avec d'autres « prisonniers de Sion », à quinze ans d'internement. (Premier procès de Léninegrad)

Alexis Mourjenko

Trente-trois ans. Condamné, avec d'autres « prisonniers de Sion », à quatorze ans d'internement. (Premier procès de Léninegrad)

Hillel Boutman

Quarante et un ans, avocat et ingénieur. Dix ans d'internement. (Second procès de Léninegrad)

Lassal Kaminsky

Quarante-quatre ans, ingénieur. Cinq ans d'internement. (Second procès de Léninegrad)

Mikhaïl Kornblit

Trente-quatre ans, stomatologue. Sept ans d'internement. (Second procès de Léninegrad)

Lev Yagman

Trente-quatre ans, ingénieur. Cinq ans d'internement. (Second procès de Léninegrad)

Youri Vudka

Vingt-sept ans, étudiant. Sept ans d'internement. (Procès de Riazan, 1970)

David Chernoglaz

Trente-cinq ans, agronome. Cinq ans d'internement. (Procès de Kishinev, 1971)

Haïm Renert

Cinquante-trois ans, médecin. Cinq ans d'internement (1971).

Youri Poch

Vingt-quatre ans, étudiant. Arrêté le 22 mai 1972 et condamné à trois ans et demi d'internement.

Grigory Berman

Vingt-neuf ans, linguiste. Condamné à trois ans d'internement. (Odessa, août 1972)

Ilya Glezer

Quarante-trois ans, biologiste. Condamné en août 1972 à trois ans d'internement suivis de trois ans d'exil.

Lazare Loubarsky

Quarante-huit ans, ingénieur. Quatre ans d'internement. (Rostov, janvier 1973)

Isaak Shkolnik

Trente-neuf ans, ouvrier. Condamné à sept ans d'internement. (Vinnitza, juillet 1973)

Joseph Michner

Quarante ans, enseignant. Condamné à six ans d'internement. (Bendery, 1970)

Jacob Suslensky

Quarante-six ans, enseignant. Condamné à sept ans d'internement. (Bendery, 1970)

Petya Pinkhassov

Quarante ans, menuisier. Condamné à cinq ans d'internement. (Derbent, novembre 1973)

Alexandre Feldman

Vingt-sept ans. Trois ans et demi d'internement. (Procès de Kiev, novembre 1973)

Arkady Vainman

Vingt-deux ans, violoniste. Condamné à quatre ans d'internement. (Kharkov, septembre 1972)

Léonid Vainman

Vingt-deux ans, violoniste. Condamné à quatre ans d'internement. (Kharkov, septembre 1972)

Mark Lutsker

Vingt-six ans, étudiant. Arrêté en juillet 1973 et condamné à deux ans d'internement.

Anna Berkovsky

Quarante-trois ans, philologue. Condamnée le 25 juin 1974 à deux ans de travaux forcés dans une entreprise nationale.

Youri Berkovsky

Quarante-quatre ans, enseignant. Condamné le 25 juin 1974 à deux ans de travaux forcés dans une entreprise nationale.

Alexandre Silin

Vingt ans. Condamné à trois ans d'internement. (Kharkov, juin 1974)

Kopel Spector

Vingt-neuf ans. Condamné à deux ans d'internement. (Tchernovitz, décembre 1974)

Mikhaïl Stern

Cinquante-six ans, endocrinologue. Condamné à huit ans d'internement. (Vinnitza, décembre 1974)

Mark Nashpits

Vingt-sept ans, dentiste. Condamné à cinq ans d'exil. (Moscou, avril 1975)

Boris Tsitlilonok

Trente et un ans, ouvrier. Condamné à cinq ans d'exil. (Moscou, avril 1975)

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NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

RESTRICTED ¹⁰⁷
187

201.4.2

460

3 June 1975

The Secretary
Department of Foreign Affairs
CANBERRA

SOVIET JEWS

Please refer to your memorandum 162 of 14 April, 1975 and to Tel Aviv's memorandum 285 of 28 April 1975.

2. During the course of our enquiries we spoke to Mark Brayne of Reuter's Moscow office who witnessed the demonstration and arrest of Nashpits and Tsitlenok and who has closely followed events following on from their arrest. Brayne's account of the issue is similar to the information contained in Tel Aviv's memorandum.

3. The demonstration took place on 24 December 1974 outside the Lenin Library in Moscow. Of the nine demonstrators, two were freed by police immediately, five were held for 10-15 days and Nashpits and Tsitlenok were detained indefinitely. The police had said that they had resisted arrest but we were told that they had behaved peacefully throughout the demonstration.

4. A closed trial was held on 31 March of this year in which Nashpits and Tsitlenok were sentenced to five years internal exile. They began their exile on 18 May, Tsitlenok in Krasnoyarsk Region and Nashpits in Chita. A sentence involving exile normally involves confinement of the convicted person to a radius of about two or three kilometres from his place of work. He must be home at 8 p.m. every night and must report frequently to the local militia. The two were convicted under Article 190 Sub-Section 3 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR which can be invoked to impose a maximum sentence of 3 years imprisonment. Under another Article, however, the judge mitigated the sentence to exile instead of imprisonment but increased the length of the sentence to five years.

5. At present there seems to be little question of legal appeals being successful, the supreme court of the RSFSR having rejected appeals on behalf of Nashpits and Tsitlenok on 25 April.

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186

From all accounts it does look as though the Soviet authorities have taken pains once again to show others who might be tempted that demonstrations which are at odds with Soviet Government policies are not to be tolerated in this country.

(R.A. NEWTON)
Second Secretary

Australian Embassy
TEL AVIV

Memo. No. O.P. 93

For information.

(R.A. NEWTON)
Second Secretary

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M. [signature]

106

185

file
201.4.2

Ex-Soviet visits, speaks for cause

By Jon Ziomek

A Soviet physicist who left his country six months ago has called on scientists around the world to support persecuted colleagues in the Soviet Union.

In a talk Thursday with reporters at the University of Chicago's Geophysics Laboratory, Aleksandr Voronel said persecution of intellectuals, especially Jews, is worsening in his "former motherland," as he called it.

Voronel is Jewish. Now a resident of Israel and teaching experimental physics at Tel Aviv University, he is touring U.S. cities.

He said Soviet authorities jailed him in June, 1974, apparently for starting a seminar among scientists — mostly Jewish — who had been excluded from meetings sanctioned by the official Soviet structure. He was threatened with further punishment, he said.

Voronel was also dropped as head of the national institute after he applied for a visa to Israel, he said. Being fired, he said, is common among scientists who express a desire to leave the country.

He conceded his remarks might affect detente between the United States and the Soviet Union but noted that detente means something different to Soviet officials than it does in this country.

"In Russia, it can mean preparing for a new cold war," he said. "In America, it means a free exchange of ideas."

"But don't blame them (Soviet authorities)," he added. "Their policy is: They must win, they must have the advantage. A politician who doesn't win is not a good politician."

By expressing a desire to leave the Soviet Union, he said, "you have (expressed) a choice, and you are a free man." But in the Soviet, he said, "life is based on the principle of no choice" and the authorities persecute dissident scientists.

"But they must take into consideration the opinion of Western scientists," Voronel said.

The Soviet authorities ap-



Physicist Aleksandr Voronel:

"In Russia, it (detente) can mean preparing for a new cold war. In America, it means a free exchange of ideas." (Sun-Times Photo)

preciate Western scientists very much. They take into account each statement of Western scientists. They prefer to be very soft" with matters of concern to the West.

But the physicist said the situation in the Soviet Union has worsened recently. He said quotas for children of Jewish scientists in schools have been cut severely, and there has been a step-up in searches, threats, military induction and jailings of dissidents.

MIGRATION

Soviet Jews like it here

By PATRICIA ANGLY

OVER THE PAST two years Russia, not renowned for its liberal emigration attitude toward its subjects, has allowed an estimated 70,000 to 100,000 Jews to leave the country. Ostensibly bound for Israel, an increasing percentage of these emigrants (supposedly 35 percent in the month of December, 1974) have decided to chance their fortunes elsewhere.

Many of them are discouraged by the current economic and military situation in Israel and, while not denying their Jewishness, are wary of committing their new lives, and that of their children, to what they consider a problematical future. According to some reports, those most likely to decide not to go to Israel are Jews from the big cities — Leningrad, Moscow and so on — who are regarded as the most assimilated of Soviet Jews.

In all cases, those allowed to leave are given visas for Israel. Upon arrival in Vienna many tell the Jewish authorities (usually Hais, the international Jewish welfare organisation) that they don't want to continue on to Israel. They are then sent to Rome (Austrian authorities have now discouraged use of their country as a half-way station) and begin another wait to be accepted for immigration to North America, Western Europe and Australia.

In the last two years, about 200 Soviet Jews have come to Australia. They are mainly from southern cities such as Odessa, and they have chosen to settle mainly in Sydney and Melbourne. Many have come as family groups, with three generations represented. Generally they have had little trouble finding jobs, because they are skilled in trades such as engineering, medical technology, dental work and shoe-making, although many have not yet found jobs in their fields, because of their lack of English.

Shulim and Eva Zlatkis chose to bring their family to Australia because it was, they had decided back in Odessa, a "quiet" country.

"We read a lot about America and Australia. But we think America is too big, too noisy," Shulim Zlatkis said. "Here it is young and much more quiet and we like that."

The Zlatkis arrived last May with their son, Nathan, daughter, Miriam, son-in-law Igor and their grandson. All of them except Mrs Zlatkis, who minds her grandson and cooks for everybody, had jobs within days. They are already the proud, if mortgaged, owners of a two-bedroom flat five minutes' walk from Sydney's Maroubra beach. They

brought their own furniture with them, and although they accepted money at first from the Australian Jewish Welfare Association, they are proud now to be independent. They are a cheerful, straightforward and hard-working family whose optimism is infectious.

Although none of them were able to find jobs in their original occupations, they are all hopeful that once their English improves, they will be able to. Mr Zlatkis, who worked as an engineer in a shoe factory in Odessa, is now with a panel-beating firm. His daughter Miriam, a medical pathologist, works as a controller in a factory, while her husband, a trained jeweller, works for a commercial dry cleaner. Nathan is a machine operator in a ball-bearing factory, but hopes one day to pick up his old job as a car electrician.

The Zlatkis have joined the Maroubra synagogue and are happy to at last be able to practise their religion freely and in the open. They also feel they have a lot to learn about modern Judaism.

"In Russia we weren't afraid," Mrs Zlatkis said. "We always practised at home. And there is a synagogue in Odessa but it is just one small room

although the city has a Jewish population of 250,000."

When the Zlatkis applied to leave Russia, they met with hostility. "We went down to the police to give in the forms and they looked at us as though we were 'no good' people for wanting to leave," Mr Zlatkis said. "We all had to stop our work for six months while we waited to leave and then we had to pay 5000 roubles (about \$5500) for our visas. Some people did not want to know us any more."

Mr Zlatkis says his family is happy to be in a capitalist society, where they can make plans for their future.

"In the socialist way you don't get anything for yourself," he said. "Socialism is good for a man like Brezhnev, that's all."

Ilya and Svetlana Vishnevsky and their son Vladislav arrived in Australia six months ago with little more than their suitcases and high hopes. They came via Rome from Odessa, where Ilya worked as an engineer and Svetlana, who has a law degree, did clerical work. Although their jobs in Sydney are not yet equal to their training — Ilya is a technical officer with the Department of Public Works and Svetlana is a tea woman at the Department of Immigration — they are convinced that their decision to leave the Soviet Union was the right one.

"The idea for us to leave Russia came in 1971 when it became possible for Jews to leave," Ilya said. "We are Jewish but we don't know much about the Jewish



The Zlatkis family: proud to be independent in their adopted country

THE BULLETIN, MARCH 1, 1975

19



The extra step that creates the rarest whiskey in the world

Back here in Moore County we still make whiskey the slow, slow Tennessee way. The boys at the rickyard burn off a special kind of hard maple from 'Tennessee whiskey' trees. When the smoke's lifted, all that's left is the traditional maple charcoal used to smooth out our sippin' whiskey. You see, every drop of Jack Daniel's is slowly mellowed by seeping through 12 foot of this finely powdered charcoal. It takes a long time, but we've learned over the years that hurry only harms good whiskey. And, as far as we're concerned, it doesn't help people much either. Jack Daniel's. From the oldest registered distillery in America. Now at all well endowed hotels, liquor stores and restaurants.



CHARCOAL
MELLOWED

DROP

BY DROP

JACK DANIEL'S
OLD TIME
OLD NO. 7
WHISKEY

Tennessee Whiskey. 90 proof. Distilled and bottled by Jack Daniel Distillery, Lynchburg (population 361), Tennessee.

language or Jewish customs — it was too difficult to learn in Russia. My parents spoke Yiddish, but only when they wanted to say something in private. Sometimes we celebrated the old holidays but it was never very important to us. So we decided to come to America or Australia instead of going to Israel.

The Vishnevskys chose Australia because, Ilya said, it seemed to provide more opportunities for people with little knowledge of English and for those with technical training. Although they are both far from fluent, both Ilya and Svetlana have made great progress in English and Vladislav, with the talent of the young, speaks very well.

They are already far better off here by material standards than they were in Odessa. They have rented a modern two-bedroom apartment in Rose Bay and Ilya goes to work in North Sydney in his own car. In Odessa the three of them lived in a small two-room flat and Svetlana shared a kitchen with two other families.

When the Vishnevskys left the Soviet Union in 1973, they explained to the Jewish authorities in Vienna that they wanted to go to Australia and not Israel. Ilya said: "I told them that I didn't want to go to Israel. They told me that it was my decision but they said that I could find good work as a civil engineer in Israel. But they didn't try to force us to go there and they arranged for us to go to Rome. We spent seven months in Rome and the Joint Distribution Agency (an arm of the Jewish Agency) helped us in all things. They gave us money each month, enough for living and they helped us with our documents."

Apart from the language the Vishnevskys have had little difficulty adjusting to the Australian way of life.

"We have a lot of friends who had come here maybe 10 years ago, and we met others, and with their help we have had very little problems," Ilya said. "Australians have been very friendly and helpful to us. There is even a joke at my office that the place is being run by Russians, because we happen to have four Russians there."

One of the things the Vishnevskys are glad to have left behind is the subtle Soviet discrimination against Jews, which their families encountered primarily in the education system. Ilya's brother applied three times before he was admitted to an institute of communications and at one point during his applications, Ilya said, a man at the institute explained simply that they didn't want many Jewish students. For a time the Vishnevskys were not sure they would be able to leave the Soviet Union because the government demanded 15,000 roubles from them. Then it dropped the demand.

183
RESTRICTED 104

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY


TEL AVIV

In reply quote No. 201/6
285

Memorandum No.

28 April 1975

201-4-2.


The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA.

SOVIET JEWS - NASHPITZ AND TZITLONOK

We refer to your memorandum No.116 of 14 April 1975, to which was attached a letter from the Secretary General of the Israel Labour Party to the Prime Minister concerning the arrest of Soviet Jews Mark Nashpitz and Boris Tzitlonok.

2. Mrs Ruth Baron of the Public Council for Soviet Jewry and Mr Avraham Pirosh, a journalist who has been in frequent telephone contact with various dissident Soviet Jews, including Nashpitz, have given us some background information on these two men and their cases.

3. The sentences of 5 years exile received by Nashpitz and Tzitlonok on charges of "hooliganism" are seen here as unusually harsh ones. (Press reports today indicate that their appeals against the sentences have been unsuccessful.) Mrs Baron and Mr Pirosh say that the ostensible reason for the charges was that Nashpitz and Tzitlonok took part in a demonstration for the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate. They believe, however, that the real reasons for the sentencing of the two men are somewhat different in each case.

4. Nashpitz' father made his way to Israel about 17 years ago after defecting from a Soviet delegation abroad, and the conviction of his son, therefore, is seen here as a case of official Soviet vindictiveness. (Nashpitz' mother, however, was allowed to join her husband not long ago.) Nashpitz is a recently-graduated dentist.

5. Tzitlonok, a labourer, whose mother and brother are in Israel, has been convicted, it is believed here, in order to make an example of a non-professional would-be emigrant. (Most previous court-cases have involved scientists and other professionals.) Pirosh and Baron do ^{not} believe that Tzitlonok had any position of leadership in the Jewish movement.

.../2

M. Crick

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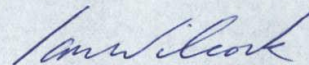
6. We understand that others arrested in the same demonstration as Nashpitz and Tzitlonok were sentenced ^{to} only 10-15 days imprisonment.

7. A copy of this memorandum has been sent to Moscow.

(Ian Wilcock)
Second Secretary

Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW. OP.100

Copy for your information.



(Ian Wilcock)
Second Secretary

RESTRICTED



DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

181

CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

File: 175/11/52

Memo No: 162

14 April 1975



Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW

SOVIET JEWS

....

Enclosed for your information is a circular letter addressed to the Prime Minister from the Israel Labour Party.

2. Before we reply to the letter we would appreciate any background information you might be able to supply on the two people in question.

3. A copy of this letter has been sent to our Embassy in Tel Aviv.

(G.S. Bauer)
Middle East Section

Mr Crick

ISRAEL LABOUR PARTY

180
Tel-Aviv March 13, 1975.
P.O.B. 3263, Telephone: 241351

Mr. Gough Whitlam
Leader
Australian Labor Party
Canberra - Australia.



Dear Comrade,

I would like to bring to your knowledge and ask for your help on behalf of 2 Soviet Jews :

Mark NASHPITZ and Boris TZITLONOK

who were arrested two weeks ago while demonstrating in front of the National Library in Moscow, for their right to emigrate to Israel.

These two men have applied for the permit to emigrate to Israel already 5 years ago but instead of letting them go they were arrested 12 times because of their wish to emigrate and for claiming publicly their right. In this context we want to underline that they are single and that their parents are living in Israel.

Nashpitz and Tzitlonok are to be put on trial in the very near future and according to the information we possess they may get up to 3 years of imprisonment.

As a sister party we apply to you to approach the Soviet authorities and request:

- a) their immediate release
- b) the permit that they should emigrate to Israel and be reunited with their families.

For your information we want to add the usual claim of the Soviet authorities that because of some important position in the Soviet Union certain persons are not allowed to leave the country - claim which in principle we strongly reject. Here, we would like to emphasize, that the 2 men in question are not "important persons" - one being a worker and the other one a young man who only recently graduated from the University.

In view of the above, I am sure that on humanitarian grounds, you will try to do your best to help alleviate their misery.

I am thanking you in advance for your kind understanding and assistance,

Yours fraternally,

Meir Zarmi

Meir Zarmi
Secretary General.

201-4-2

179 ¹⁰³

-29-

union will be a good trading partner.

the trip was arranged by the unctad council under the u.n. technical assistance program for the developing countries.

after visiting the soviet union the delegation will go to poland, czechoslovakia, hungary and the gdr. item ends ++++++

= 26/3 tass 2-37 =

independence day in bangladesh
dacca march 26 tass a public meeting was held in the central square here today on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the independence of the republic of bangladesh. it was attended by over a million residents of dacca and neighbouring districts who have assembled here at the call of the ruling peasants and workers' people's league.

the meeting was addressed by president mujibur rahman who urged the people of the republic to spare no effort to attain economic independence and build a society free from any forms of exploitation. he said it is necessary to strengthen the political unity of the people and mobilize them for the all-out development of agricultural and industrial production. at the same time they should give a rebuff to the enemies of independence, to all those who hamper bangladesh advance along the road of progress, mujibur rahman said.

an artillery salute was fired on the occasion of independence day, festive demonstrations and sports competitions were held in the cities and villages of the republic.
item ends ++++++

= 26/3 tass 5-19 =

passover services at synagogue
moscow march 26 tass jewish believers, residents of moscow, are celebrating the passover. yakov fishmann, the rabby of the moscow choral synagogue, said in a tass interview that the passover service is to be held at the synagogue tonight, this will be followed by a festive supper for single elderly jews in the round hall. they will be taken care of by synagogue parishioners.

the rabby said that over 100 tons of azyme have been prepared for the passover supper. the moscow choral synagogue has sent as gift parcels of azyme to a number of jewish communitiess in other countries, including the usa, which maintain contacts with believing jews in moscow.

on the last day of the holiday commemorating the dead a special prayer will be said at the synagogue for those who died in the war against hitler fascism, the rabby said, +all peoples on earth, including jews, must remember that they were liberated by the great victory over fascism won by the soviet army together with the allied armies 30 years ago. we revere the memory of the soldiers-liberators,+ the rabby said, item ends ++++++

Savo 4/4

CONFIDENTIAL
International Message Form

178 ¹⁰²

AUSTRALIAN DIPLOMATIC NETWORK

RED SECTION OF FORM MUST BE COMPLETED BY THE ORIGINATOR.
In precedence columns **PREC** insert BB for BAG DESPATCH or RR for ROUTINE.
PP for PRIORITY, II for IMMEDIATE or EE for EMERGENCY telegraphic transmission.
BLUE sections are for use by communications personnel only.

20450/73-L

Taped *A. Rossiter*
Typed
Cyphd
Sent *A. Rossiter*

Reference No. O. MS 1509		Time/date of lodgment		UNC	CLA	MSL 016 21/3
TO. ACTION POSTS (TO)						
RR PREC	CANBERRA	/1639	WASHINGTON	/123	VIENNA	/16
RP. INFORMATION POSTS (REPEATED TO)						
PREC		/		/		/
FM. Originating post	MOSCOW		/	FILE 201.4.2	REF O. CH189636	
Security classification	CONFIDENTIAL					
Subject heading	USSR : JEWISH EMIGRATION					

LEVITSKY, US EMBASSY (PLEASE PROTECT) SUPPLIED THE
FOLLOWING FIGURES ON JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR:-

	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>
JAN.	2,700	2,400	1,250
FEB.	2,400	1,600	1,100 TO 1,150

2. YOU WILL NOTE THAT THE FEBRUARY 1975 FIGURE IS AT
VARIANCE FROM THAT QUOTED IN WASHINGTON'S WH.16699 AND ALTHOUGH
THE US EMBASSY DOES NOT PROFESS TO BE ABLE TO GIVE AN ACCURATE
FIGURE FOR FEBRUARY, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE FIGURE OF 1,300 IS
SLIGHTLY INFLATED.

3. AS YOU KNOW, 1973 WAS THE BIG YEAR FOR JEWISH EMIGRATION
WITH AN AVERAGE FIGURE OF 3,000 PER MONTH. THE JANUARY 1974 FIGURE
(2,400) WAS THE BIGGEST MONTH OF LAST YEAR AND LEAVING THAT ASIDE
THE FIGURE FOR THE REST OF THE YEAR AVERAGES OUT AT 1,500. LEVITSKY
PREDICTED (AS A ROUGH GUESS) A 25%-30% REDUCTION IN JEWISH EMIGRATION
FIGURES FOR 1975 COMPARED WITH THE PREVIOUS YEAR. IN OTHER WORDS
HE FORESAW A TOTAL FIGURE OF ABOUT 15,000 FOR 1975 BUT IT WAS

CONFIDENTIAL

../2

Authorised by: P. KNIGHT	(Enter distribution instructions on reverse side of form)		
Block letters	<i>P. Knight</i> Signature	21/3/75 Date	COUNSELLOR Dept/Bch/Sect
National Archives of Australia		Phone No. 3	

National Archives of Australia

NAA: A10156, 201/4/2 PART 3

SUGGESTED DISTRIBUTION

(Ministers and/or Departments or Authorities)

CONFIDENTIAL

2.

177

IMPOSSIBLE TO BE CERTAIN ABOUT THIS.

4. LEVITSKY ASKED THAT THE AMERICAN EMBASSY SHOULD NOT BE QUOTED PUBLICLY AS THE SOURCE OF THE ABOVE INFORMATION AND IT WOULD THEREFORE SEEM DESIRABLE THAT YOU DRAW ONLY ON WASHINGTON'S WH.16699 IN PREPARING YOUR REPLY.

LEVINSON LIBRARY
Lyonsky

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

176 101

INWARD CABLEGRAM

From: WASHINGTON
No.: 155
Received: 21.3.75

LMS083
CLE871

O.WH16699 1430 20.3.75 CLA

TO.
RR CANBERRA/9303

RP.
RR MOSCOW/155 VIENNA/47

FM. WASHINGTON / FILE 221/9/8 REF O.CH189636

C O N F I D E N T I A L

USSR - JEWISH EMIGRATION

STATE DEPARTMENT PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING FIGURES FOR JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR SINCE 1972.

1972 TOTAL 31,500

1973 TOTAL 35,000

1974 TOTAL 21,000

THE MONTHLY RATE OF EMIGRATION AVERAGED 1,700 LAST YEAR. EMIGRATION FIGURES FOR THE FIRST TWO MONTHS OF THIS YEAR WERE 1,250 IN JANUARY AND 1,300 IN FEBRUARY.

2. THESE FIGURES MAY BE ATTRIBUTED WITHOUT DIFFICULTY TO STATE DEPARTMENT. BUT THE STATE DEPARTMENT WOULD NOT WISH TO REVEAL THE IDENTITY OF ITS SOURCES IN MOSCOW.

C. O.WH16699 1430 20.3.75 9303 155 47 221/9/8 O.CH189636 1972
1972 31,500 1973 35,000 1974 21,000 1,700 1,250 1,300

CM.

CONFIDENTIAL

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

INWARD CABLEGRAM

RESTRICTED 175

From: Canberra

No.: 1676

Received: 20-3-75

LMS 069

CLE441

O.CH189636 1620 19.3.75 CLA

TO.

RR MOSCOW/1676 WASHINGTON/8900 VIENNA/2995

FM. CANBERRA / FILE 69/2/5/7

R E S T R I C T E D

USSR : JEWISH EMIGRATION

TO ASSIST IN MEETING MINISTERIAL ENQUIRY, GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD PROVIDE MOST RECENT AUTHORATIVE FIGURES AVAILABLE, QUOTING SOURCE, ON NUMBER OF JEWS ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE USSR SO FAR THIS YEAR AS COMPARED WITH PREVIOUS TWO YEARS.

XC. O.CH189636 1620 19.3.75 1 76 8900 2995 79/2/5/7

CM.

RESTRICTED

Mr Wighton
Phone Pavel Levitsky

RESTRICTED



174 99
RESTRICTED

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
64-66, AVENUE D'ENNA
75116 PARIS

File No: 223/4
Memo No: OP152
11 July 1974

Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW

JEWS IN THE USSR

....

Attached for your information is a copy of the proceedings of a Round Table held in Paris in December 1973 on the above topic. The two principal speakers were Lev Kornblit and Kyril Henkin, both Russian Jews.

h
(Malcolm Leader)
Second Secretary

201.4.2

RESTRICTED

173 98

201.42

186

6 March 1975

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.

USSR : JEWISH EMIGRATION

(Your file 69/2/5/7)

.... We refer to your memorandum 92 of 20 February 1975. We assume that you subscribe to the English version "New Times" as well as the Russian original and have by now received in one form or the other issue number 5 for 1975 which contains the item (copy attached) in question.

2. It seems to us, too, that this is the first direct Soviet publication of statistics, however partial, on Jewish emigration. They subsequently received rather wider, though hardly national, dissemination in "Moskovskaya Pravda" on 25 February 1975 (our memorandum 178 refers).

(Philip Knight)
Counsellor

FLIGHT FROM THE "PROMISED LAND"

ALEXANDER NIKOLAYEV

For years Israel has been urging Jews the world over to settle in the "land of their ancestors." This propaganda campaign is being used by the Zionists and the imperialists to further their selfish political aims that have nothing in common with their much-vaunted "concern" about the Jewish population in other countries.

Playing up the fact that some Jewish families were split during World War II and whipping up nationalist feelings among the Jews, the Zionists have succeeded, especially in recent years, in inducing a certain number of Jews in the Americas, Europe, Asia and Africa to go to Israel. The number of immigrants averaged 50,000 in 1972 and 1973.

Towards the end of 1973, however, immigration to Israel began to drop sharply. And that is quite understandable. For most of those who go to Israel the "paradise" promised them by the Zionists has meant poverty, unemployment, lack of housing, and hostility of the local Jews. The huge direct and indirect taxes due to excessive military spending and the soaring prices (last year alone, according to official figures, commodity prices went up by 58 per cent) impose a heavy burden upon the country's population and especially on the new immigrants.

Further, more and more people in the world, Israel included, are coming to realize that the adventurist and expansionist policy pursued by her Zionist ruling element is fraught with danger for the country's future and the security of its people. In the course of the hostilities in October 1973 alone, official spokesmen admit, Israel lost over 10,000 officers and men in killed and wounded. And who can predict the consequences of another war in Middle East?

As a result of all this, immigra-

tion to Israel in the first six months of 1974 was 33 per cent below that in the corresponding period in the preceding year. According to preliminary figures, the number of immigrants for the whole of 1974 was 60-65 per cent below that expected by Israel's Zionist leaders. As the "New York Times" correspondent reported from Jerusalem last August, "significant numbers of Jews abroad are postponing or cancelling plans to move here."

What has especially irritated the Israeli rulers is the sharp decline in the number of immigrants from the Soviet Union. Press reports show that about 16,000 Jews arrived in Israel from the U.S.S.R. in 1974, or only half the 1973 number. The attempts made by the Israeli government and the Zionist quarters to attribute this drop to obstacles raised by the Soviet authorities no longer convince anyone.

The following facts graphically refute the Zionist propaganda claims. From 1945 to January 1 of this year competent Soviet bodies issued 98.5 per cent of the exit permits applied for by people wishing to go to Israel. But, as pointed out above, the number of such applications is steadily decreasing. At present, there are only 1,420 such applications for exit permits under consideration. In 1973 and 1974 about 1,500 Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality refused

to avail themselves of the exit permits they had applied for and received.

More and more people leaving the Soviet Union reconsider their plans after reaching some transit point, say Vienna, and talking with refugees from Israel, and decide to settle down in some European country or the United States instead of Israel. There were 600 of them last November alone and about 4,000 for the whole of 1974. It ought to be added that at least 10 per cent of former Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality leave Israel after a taste of her life.

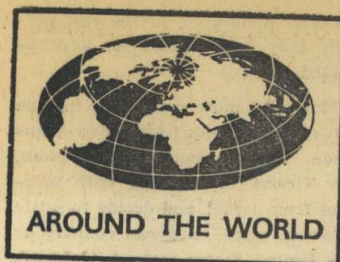
The tendency to flee from Israel is snowballing, the Western press writes. That applies not only to the new immigrants but to other sections of the population as well. This is eloquently testified to by the public poll conducted last year on the initiative of the Israeli newspaper "Haaretz." Its results showed that 6.5 per cent intended to leave Israel and another 5 per cent were seriously thinking of doing the same. The desire to emigrate is especially strong among young people. Twenty per cent of the young men and women aged between 18 and 29 years said they would like to leave Israel. All told, the "New York Times" reported on January 9, citing figures published in Israel, 18,000 people emigrated from that country last year.

Is it surprising, then, that the number of people wishing to go to the "Promised Land" is constantly declining?

CHINA'S TRADE DEFICIT

A correspondent of the British "Sunday Telegraph" reported from Peking that China's unfavourable balance in trade with the non-socialist countries in 1974 is likely to reach 450 million pounds. This will cause a decline in Chinese imports in the current year and could even affect 1976 when the new five-year plan comes into force.

China's deficit in trade with the U.S.A. is estimated at 300 million pounds, with Japan over 250 million and with Great Britain, 11 million. And this despite China's favourable balance in trade with Hongkong. In 1974, Chinese exports to this British colony amounted to 480 million pounds, while its imports from Hongkong were around 8.5 million.



THE SPRINGS OF BACUBA

VALENTIN KOROVIKOV

In the past few years, the peoples of many newly-free African countries have "re-discovered" their national culture and history. Some governments have allocated funds for the development of traditional arts and crafts, for the building of museums, picture galleries and art schools. The social significance of this movement goes far beyond the immediate educational and cultural aims. It is the matter of reviving and asserting the sense of national dignity, of eradicating the vestiges of colonial and racist ideology.

At 10 a.m. I was introduced to the Deputy Commissioner of Eastern Kasai Province, and three hours later we were already on our way in a Land Rover to the city of Mweka, to the ancient kingdom of Bacuba, situated in the heart of the Republic of Zaire, between two big rivers—the Sankuru and the Kasai. One of my most cherished dreams—to see that famous ancient centre of traditional African art—was coming true.

It is not so easy to reach that area. Former Kasai Province, now divided into two administrative regions, has a special part to play in the country's economy. All Zaire's diamonds come from Kasai, which accounts for 60 per cent of all diamonds extracted in the world outside the U.S.S.R. In the hard years of the struggle for the country's unity, smugglers—big-time and otherwise—flocked to Kasai from all over the world. The Zaire government is naturally determined to stop this monstrous plunder of the national wealth. One of the measures taken to this end is the tightening of travel controls, especially with regard to foreigners.

Ancient Roots of the Bushongo

However, the purpose of my visit had nothing to do with diamonds. Bacuba lies some distance away from the diamond fields. Also known as Cuba, it is a political formation, an ancient federation of 18 small tribes. Its inhabitants are often referred to as the Bushongo. Historians sharply disagree as to exactly when that state emerged.

The most popular king (or niymi), who commanded the greatest respect, was Shamba Bolongongo, also known as Shiyam a Mbul. With his name are associated the rise and consolidation of the state, the development of its economy and the

arts. It was he who initiated the cultivation of manioc (a root plant which, like our own potato, became a staple food with the local population), as well as oil palms and tobacco. During his reign Bacuba became famous for its richly ornamented raffia-palm-fibre carpets and wood carving flourished there. The eighteen surviving wooden statues of Bacuba kings (the oldest statue being about 300 years old), the most ancient examples of Tropical Africa's highly distinctive wood carving art, are real masterpieces. In the 17th century, arts and crafts were given every encouragement in Bacuba. The best carvers, weavers and embroiderers enjoyed universal respect.

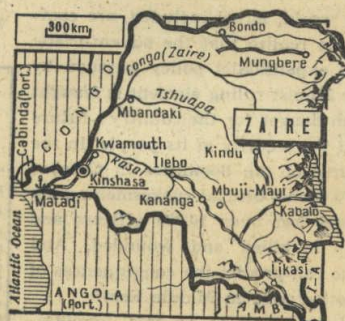
Gradually, Bacuba developed into one of the most authoritative and best-governed African states with a strong but not despotic centralized rule. The niymi was regarded as a divine figure, an earthly deity. When the first European travellers found their way to the lands of the Bushongo, they were amazed by the high standard of local arts and crafts, by the refined esthetic taste of the people and the rational organization of life in the villages. "In Bushongo villages," wrote Leo Frobenius, the well-known German student of Africa, "every vessel, every pipe and every spoon is a work of art."

Under Belgian colonial rule, the niymi, who took his instructions from Luluabourg and Mweka, became a largely nominal figure. A few devastating epidemics, the collapse of the traditional peasant economy undermined by the colonialists, the forced employment of young men in mining, road building and tree felling led eventually to the decline of the ancient state.

Citizen Niymi

The past few years have seen striking changes in Bacuba. Our Land Rover, which belonged to the Zaire Press Agency, toiled along a broken sandy road which connects Kananga with Mweka, the administrative centre of the Western Kasai subdistrict where Bacuba is situated. We covered 250 kilometres in eight hours almost nonstop. On our way, we passed many small villages of square huts, roofed with palm leaves, standing on well-trampled grassless sites. Oil palms and manioc fields alternated with coffee, banana, and papaya plantations, and occasional small tracts of woodland, all that remained of the once dense forests. We reached Mweka after dark.

The following morning our new host, Lokia-Izezonge, the Commissioner of the Mweka Zone, took us to Mushenge settlement, the traditional capital of Bacuba. As distinct from Mweka, the area's administrative, trade and transport centre, Mushenge is located amid wooded hills some distance away from the



5/75 "NEW TIMES"

171 97

= 25/2 tass 6-17 =

moskovskaya pravda on reduction in immigration into
israel

israel 1 (one) two takes
moscow february 25 tass

there has been a sharp drop in the number of soviet citizens who want to leave for israel. last year, the figure of departures of jews for israel was only half that of 1973, and in january 1975 competent soviet agencies had before them less than 1,500 applications for emigration to israel.

it is also significant that in 1973-1974, about 1,500 soviet citizens of jewish nationality, who had been given permits to leave for israel, refused to take advantage of them.

these figures are quoted today in moskovskaya pravda by dmitri stepanov in an article concerning the reduction in immigration into israel.

/ more /

= 25/2 tass 6-17 =

israel 2 (two)

the number of those willing to settle in israel is also declining in other countries, stepanov remarks. emigration from the united states, for instance, was cut by half in 1973-1974. last year, 65 per cent less immigrants, than expected by the ruling quarters of that country, arrived in israel.

simultaneously there has been a sharp increase in the number of people who would like to leave israel. last year, alone, 18,000 jews departed from that country which is much more than the figure for 1973.

+jews throughout the world are realising that the gambling, anti-national policy of the ruling quarters of israel brought that state to the brink of political and economic disaster,+ stepanov says. +the zionist concept of collecting the jews into a single state has utterly failed,+ item ends +++++

201.4.2

170
RESTRICTED 96

201.42

178

28 February 1975

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.

USSR : JEWISH EMIGRATION

Moskovskaya Pravda of 25 February 1975 reported a sharp drop in the number of Soviet citizens applying to emigrate to Israel.

2. The article states that the number of departures in 1974 was only half that for the previous year and that at January 1975 the competent Soviet agencies had before them less than 1,500 applications. This figure is only half of the number mentioned to our Prime Minister during his visit here. Moskovskaya Pravda also claims that in 1973-74 about 1,500 Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality who had been given permits to leave for Israel chose not to depart from the USSR.

3. The remainder of the article, along the lines of that attached to our memorandum 1218 of 2 December 1974, dwells on the numbers of people who have chosen to leave the "Zionist promised land".

(Philip Knight)
Counsellor

RESTRICTED



DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS



169
93
RESTRICTED

CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

201.42

69/2/5/7

Memo. No: 92

20 February 1975

Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW.

JEWISH EMIGRATION

1/ The morning current affairs radio program "A.M." reported on 31 January that the latest edition of "Novoye Vremya" contained up to date statistics on the emigration of Jews from the USSR.

2. If the report is accurate, it would appear to be the first direct reference in the Soviet media to this subject (notwithstanding the fact that "Novoye Vremya" has a more limited internal circulation than most of the central press.)

3. As we have not seen any such report in the last few editions of "Novoye Vremya", we would be grateful if you would verify that such a report did appear, and if it did, send us a copy.

(P.C. Gacs)
Acting Head
East Europe Section

Mr F. W.

led me see

reference for

111.

RESTRICTED



DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600



File No: 558/6/1

Memo. No:

22 January 1975

Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW

1. UKRAINIAN NATIONAL DAY
2. REJECTION OF SOVIET/U.S. TRADE AGREEMENT : PRESS REPORTS

.... Attached for your information is a copy of a supplement in the 'Australian' dated 22 January 1975, concerning Ukrainian National Day.

2. A letter which appeared in the 'Australian' dated 22 January 1975 attacking an editorial, dated 16 January 1975 which regarded the Soviet rejection of its trade agreement with the United States as a "return to cold war".

Elizabeth Grant
(Elizabeth Grant)
News and Media Section

Mr. McEwen

file 201.4.2

Cover
memo 38
22/1/75.

file 201-4-2

167

So "e" as in "get" (though not as in "git out, ya nit") is to be used for all letter combinations that produce that sound. I wonder if whoever thought of that ever read a book about red led, or was it el to him because he lent over backwards to have it lent to him last Lent? This certainly gives the well-bred something to chew on.

"Spelling as you say it."

It has been written that "a society in which consumption has to be artificially stimulated in order to keep production going is a society founded on trash and waste, and such a society is a house built upon sand."

BRUCE MALEY
Nollamara, WA

Junk talk

THE traditional capitalist doctrine of ever-increasing competition, exploitation and wastage in the name of profit maximisation cannot last as

Return to the cold war?

SIR — Your editorial (16/1) on the Soviet rejection of its trade agreement with the United States exaggerates considerably in talking of this move as a "return to cold war."

The facts of the matter do not warrant that much pessimism. The Soviet Union wanted to increase its trade with the United States, and the U.S. Administration was receptive to the idea.

But an American politician, Henry Jackson, with a long anti-soviet record and presidential aspirations, had the bright idea that he could gather in the votes of American Jews by linking the trade agreement to increased facilities for Soviet Jews to emigrate.

The Soviet leaders in fact made an informal concession to this by increasing the number of exit permits to Jews very considerably, but this did not satisfy Jackson, and it also threatened the Soviet position with the Arab countries. Soviet Jews now being the largest single category of immigrants to Israel.

However much we may deplore it, the Soviet Government does not accord to its citizens unimpeded right to leave the country, and

making it easy for Jews to do so would lead to demands from the other Soviet nationalities for similar rights.

I doubt if this has anything to do with anti-Semitism; if it is that strong, the obvious thing to do would be to make it easier for the Jews to leave; but the Soviet Government is a sovereign one and did not choose to have its domestic policies dictated by Senator Jackson.

At the same time, with recession in Europe and Japan, it has become clear that any shortfall in trade with the U.S. could quite easily be made up by increased trade with other countries which would not attempt to dictate domestic policy. So the Soviet-U.S. trade agreement is less vital to Soviet development than it appeared to be when negotiations began on it back in the "boom" days (remember them?), and a switch of course began to make good economic as well as political sense.

It remains to be seen whether or not this is the end of Brezhnev, whose detente policy has never been hinged solely to relations with the United States, but has incorporated a good many initiatives in regard to Europe.

Both he and Kosygin are elderly men, pushing 70, and they have been in power for 10 years, so both will probably

start to withdraw into retirement fairly soon anyway, peaceful retirement for top leaders now being possible largely because of their own ways of running things.

Senator Jackson has proved a poor friend to Soviet Jews, who can now expect more difficulty in leaving the country than was the case under the informal arrangements of the past two or three years. He has proved no friend to the American worker either.

But trade union movements and industrialists in Europe and Japan may well put up statues to him for the amount of work his interference has tossed their way.

I doubt, however, whether his small-minded and shortsighted attempts at vote-gathering entitle him to the importance you accord him as "the man whose efforts ruined detente."

Suppose a Soviet politician attempted to make Soviet wheat or beef purchases contingent on alterations in our policy towards Aborigines. Would we accept such interference? I doubt it.

But I also doubt whether an Australian government rejection of external interference in matters of our domestic jurisdiction would be considered in either country to herald a "return to cold war."

G. JUKES
Torrens, A.C.T.

But Mr. Adler, not the main factor, is a pre-revolutionary heartland. These, according to Mr. Adler, were the most assimilated Soviet Jews. Among the more traditional Jews — from the Baltic States, from the parts of Romania and Hungary annexed as a result of World War II, and from Georgia and Bokhara, the rates of those failing to arrive here was almost nil.

There are also Jews leaving the Soviet Union who would have been happy to stay there, but who have found it harder to make a career or live with their neighbors because of the emigration campaign. Zionist nostalgia is their last reason for seeking an emigration visa, and if they can go somewhere else they will.

Once the Russians do reach Israel, however, they are more likely to stay than other immigrants. Of the 100,000 who have come over the past four or five years, 33 per cent have left. The 1974 figure was only slightly higher at 35 per cent.

By contrast, one in every three newcomers from the developed West — North and South America, Britain, Western Europe, and South Africa — tended to go back within three years. The proportion among North African Jews, still coming here by way of France, is 15 to 20 per cent.

Hardly any of the Soviet immigrants want to go back to Mother Russia. Some, particularly if they have high qualifications, make their way to North America. Others drift forlornly into inhospitable Jewish communities of Western Europe.

But most of them decide to stick out in Israel, regardless of the difficulties all immigrants encounter here. Mr. Uzi Narkiss, the Director of the Jewish Agencies Immigration Department, once put it: "Anyone who emigrates once. It takes a hero to do twice."

Green
memo 38
22/1/75.

file 201-4-2

167

So "e" as in "get" (though not as in "git out, ya nit") is to be used for all letter combinations that produce that sound. I wonder if whoever thought of that ever read a book about red led, or was it el to him because he lent over backwards to have it lent to him last Lent? This certainly gives the well-bred something to chew on.

"Spelling as you say it."

They pronounce language, including his own, either correctly or consistently.

L. H. DALZIEL
Grange, SA

Junk talk

THE traditional capitalist doctrine of ever-increasing competition, exploitation and wastage in the name of profit maximisation cannot last as

sive and permanent politician's tongue.

It has been written that "a society in which consumption has to be artificially stimulated in order to keep production going is a society founded on trash and waste, and such a society is a house built upon sand."

BRUCE MALEY
Nollamara, WA

Return to the cold war?

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G. JUKES
Torrens, A.C.T.

But Mr. Adler is not the main factor in the matter, he said. The main reason, he said, is that they could get out of the Soviet Union. So many with no real Jewish notion began applying. These people felt that Israel was their spiritual homeland."

The majority of the dropouts came from metropolitan Russia, a pre-revolutionary heartland. These, according to Mr. Adler, were the most assimilated Soviet Jews. Among the more traditional Jews—from the Baltic Sea from the parts of Rumania and Hungary annexed as a result of World War II, and from Georgia and Bokhara, the rates of those falling to arrive here was almost nil.

There are also Jews leaving the Soviet Union who would have been happy to stay there, but who have found it harder to make a career or live with their neighbors because of the emigration campaign. Zionist nostalgia is their last reason for seeking an emigration, and if they can go somewhere else they will.

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201.4.2 .

1268

166 93

31 December 1974

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
Canberra, A.C.T.

JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM USSR
(Your file 69/2/5/7)

Your memo 620 of 24 December refers.

- 2. Attached is a copy of Gromyko's letter to Kissinger and TASS statement which appeared in Pravda in conjunction with the letter.

(R.G. Crick)
First Secretary



DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CONFIDENTIAL

CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

165 ⁹²

201. 4. 2.



File: 69/2/5/7

Memo. No: 620

24 December 1974

Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW.

JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM USSR

Thank you for your telegram O.MS1001 of 20 December 1974 concerning Jewish emigration from the USSR. We appreciate regular reports on this subject in view of parliamentary and public interest in Australia.

2. We would be grateful if you would send us by bag the text of Gromyko's letter to Kissinger.

*sent
R/p.*

P. Peters

(P.F. Peters)
A/Assistant Secretary
Europe Branch

*Secy
P. Peters
3/12/74*

National Archives of Australia

CONFIDENTIAL

NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3

201.4.2. 164 91

1218

2 December 1974

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA

SOVIET JEWISH EMIGRATION

... Attached is an abridged version of an article which appeared in the Soviet Trade Union newspaper Trud. The article relates reactions of Soviet Jews who have become dissatisfied with life in Israel. As you know, the Soviet Union has shown no inclination to allow the return of former citizens who have had second thoughts about their emigration.

2. A copy of this memo has been forwarded to Tel Aviv for information.

(R.G. Crick)
First Secretary

MEMO NO. OP 374

Australian Embassy,
TEL AVIV

Copy referred for your information.

(R.G. Crick)
First Secretary

— f

Friday, October 4, 1974

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163

Mr. C. ...

ESCAPE FROM ZIONIST "PARADISE" BECOMING MORE
DIFFICULT

Vadim Nedbayev,
APN correspondent

Another Western country, Belgium this time, has closed its doors to former Soviet citizens, refugees from Israel.

No one knows exactly how many of them have arrived in the country. The papers estimate the number at some 800. These include university professors and skilled workers, builders and musicians -- people of all ages. In the last few days the number of arrivals to Belgium has dropped sharply.

According to Reuter, the Associated Press, the local papers and other news agencies, Belgium demanded that the refugees from Israel obtain a visa before coming to the country -- something that is not required of other Israeli citizens.

The trouble is that in recent months former Soviet citizens have flocked to the country in great numbers. Deceived by Zionist propaganda, they had left their native country, forfeited Soviet citizenship, and set out for Israel, the "promised land". A few months were enough for them to understand their mistake. (Most of them had come to Israel from six to twelve months ago.) But let the refugees speak for themselves. I quote what they have told the local press and what I have heard from them personally.

"There are a lot of young people among us. They haven't left the USSR to become soldiers in Israel. But that is just what has happened to them. A few months after our arrival, most of the young men found themselves in uniform at various kibbutzim along the border. I even know a case when the young fellow had been exempt from military service when he was in the Soviet Union. In Israel, however, he was pressed into service. When he refused he was put behind bars."

A young woman of twenty-eight, a former laboratory assistant, said she could not find a job in Israel. Her husband, an engineer in the USSR, is obliged to work as stevedore. Another woman had a similar story to tell. A medical worker, she is compelled to work as maid. Her husband, a chemist, could get only a job of unskilled labourer.

Friday, October 4, 1974

- 2 -

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162

Many refugees complain about the frank hostility in Israel towards Jews coming from the Soviet Union.

"The majority of those who have come to Israel from the USSR want to return," said my interlocutors. "But that's not so simple. Once in the country, we are actually in bondage. Immediately upon our arrival we are given a little blue book in which all our debts are entered. The first is the cost of our passage to Israel. Then come the fees for instruction in the language, and so on and so forth. No one can leave the country until he has paid all these debts. To get out of Israel, I first sent my son to Belgium and then came over myself. My husband, however, is still there, and I don't know when he'll be able to leave."

Speaking of the hardships he had suffered in the "promised land," a former Soviet citizen said: "I'm not surprised that the stream of refugees from Israel arouses such anger in Zionist circles. The story these refugees have to tell reveals Zionist propaganda in its true light. It clearly shows that the Zionists are using the people they have duped for vicious anti-Sovietism."

Another refugee defined the aims of Zionist propaganda to a Belgian newspaperman in the following way: "You know Israel needs a larger population so as to be able to claim more territory. And also young people for war."

There are certain parties who are always ready to raise a hue and cry over the alleged "hard conditions" under which Jews live in the USSR. They arrange colloquiums, seminars and even congresses for the purpose of rendering "aid" that no one asks for. We do not see them making the slightest effort to help the Jews really in trouble.

The heartlessness of these "defenders of human rights" is astounding. Fanatical nationalism and frenzied anti-Sovietism -- these are the Gods they worship. For their sake, they wreck human lives, they smash the aspirations of young people and turn the closing years of the aged into hell. Their only concern is that the facts that have come to light in Belgium (the same thing had happened before in France, Italy and the GDR) should not endanger their campaign of falsehood.

Austria does not know what to do with its transit centre for directing emigrants from the USSR to Israel. It has shut them up behind barbed wire and a ten-foot concrete wall in a convent in Vienna. Such surroundings can hardly convince the inmates they have finally gained genuine freedom.

The applications from former Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality that I have seen at the USSR consulate in Brussels, should serve as a warning to those who are still being hoodwinked by the Zionists.

Brussels.

(Trud, October 4, 1974. Abridged.)

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
INWARD CABLEGRAM

201.4.2.

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TOR 0046 12.11.74

O.TA679 11.11.74 1500 CLA

TO.
RR CANBERRA/621

FM. TEL AVIV / FILE 2229/2/1 REF O.CH135021 (REPEAT OF O.WH12013)

C O N F I D E N T I A L

JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM USSR.

ACCORDING TO DANISH AMBASSADOR HERE KISSINGER TOLD DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER THAT "THAT BASTARD JACKSON" HAD PUT HIS LETTER IN DELIBERATELY MISLEADING TERMS JUST TO GET OFF THE HOOK.

DR. KISSINGER SAID SENATOR JACKSON WELL KNEW THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE IN THE SOVIET POSITION IN THE LAST TEN MONTHS.

2. PRESUMABLY THE REAL POSITION IS KNOWN TO THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT. BUT IN ALL PUBLIC STATEMENTS THEY HAVE TAKEN JACKSON LETTER AT FACE VALUE AS THE DEFINITE STATEMENT OF THE SOVIET COMMITMENT. SENATOR JACKSON HIMSELF HAS BEEN PRAISED AND THANKED IN THE WARMEST TERMS AND PRIME MINISTER AND OTHERS HAVE SPOKEN OF A MAJOR EVENT IN JEWISH HISTORY.

3. THIS IS EXPLICABLE PARTLY IN TERMS OF HUNGER FOR GOOD AMONG A SEA OF TROUBLES, BUT ALSO IN TACTICAL TERMS TO TRY TO WIN AMERICANS, AND PARTICULARLY OF COURSE JACKSON, TO THE TERMS OF HIS LETTER.

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MIN AND DEPT DEFENCE
JIO
MR J MENADUE

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CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
INWARD CABLEGRAM

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CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION: AME/ASP/EUR

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO STE FAS(WES) FAS(DEF) DP IC FAS(IOP)
TO PC IMM FAS(PCF) INF CR FAS(ER) EP FAS(MFS)

MOSCOW WASHINGTON



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159 89

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
TEL AVIV

In reply quote No. 201/6/1

Memorandum No. 523

201-4-2

19 September, 1974.

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA.

INTEGRATION OF SOVIET IMMIGRANTS IN ISRAEL

We have noted with interest in cables such as Paris' O.PA6242 of 19 August, that there has been an increase in the number of Soviet Jews from Israel applying for immigration to Australia at posts other than this one.

2. In addition to Soviet Jews who are leaving Israel and seeking to settle elsewhere (principally in the United States, Canada and Australia) there has been a sharp increase in the number of immigrants who have gone direct from their arrival in Vienna to countries other than Israel. In 1973 about 4 percent of immigrants went elsewhere, while in the first half of this year the proportion has risen to about 12 percent.

3. This "leakage" of potential Israeli citizens is of deep concern to Israeli political leaders and officials because the U.S.S.R. has become the last really likely source of large-scale Jewish immigration into Israel, and, as a result, any diminution in the flow of Soviet immigration is seen as a disturbing portent for Israel's future. In addition, a considerable amount of Jewish effort has been invested in the widespread international campaign to release Soviet Jewry, and signs that the Soviet Jews themselves are unenthusiastic about Israel must be a sharp embarrassment to the Israeli authorities.

4. Certainly many thousands of Soviet Jews have settled happily and productively in Israel, and Israel's achievements in absorbing immigrants from a multitude of countries are, in many respects, extremely impressive despite a sometimes damaging quantitative approach which is insensitive to the wants and needs of individuals. However there are a number of other problems, some of which would appear to be common to most immigrant absorbing countries and a few of which are uniquely Israeli.

5. One of the major problems of adjustment seems to be the style of a democratic society with a mixed economy such as Israel. Israelis frequently comment that there is a lack of drive and curiosity amongst many Soviet Jews who have been used to receiving comprehensive directions from above, and we have even heard Soviet immigrants complaining about the confusing range of choice in local shops. There is little reason to believe that these complaints would be any fewer in any other western society, nor

Mr. West



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158

that ^{the immigrants} their acceptance by the host community would be more hospitable elsewhere. (A recent survey showed that only 25 percent of Israelis were actively sympathetic to Russian immigrants while 50 percent were apathetic, and 25 percent were actually hostile. Much of the hostility arises from the extensive duty-free rights enjoyed by immigrants.) Nevertheless, Israel has had a particularly idealistic, if unrealistic, image in the eyes of Russian Jews and the consequent disillusion is, perhaps, all the greater.

6. Israel makes considerable efforts to overcome some of the other common problems of immigrants. Very few Russian newcomers speak any Hebrew, while Russian and Yiddish are of limited value, so all immigrants are given the opportunity to attend a full-time language school for 4-5 months which can give a reasonable conversational grasp of Hebrew, though by no means an easy fluency in the written language. Special retraining courses are organised for various professional groups, whose qualifications are sometimes irrelevant, as with lawyers and social scientists, or inadequate. Despite these efforts, however, there is a great deal of discontent amongst immigrants who feel their work is of a lower status than in the U.S.S.R. and many others, such as highly specialised engineers, applied scientists, artists, musicians and writers, find the outlets for their talents very limited.

7. The world's attention has been readily focused on Soviet Jewish personalities, such as the Panovs and Sylvia Zalmanson, who have struggled for the right to immigrate to Israel, but it seems to us that the average Soviet immigrant is little motivated by a strong Zionist commitment to "return home" and assist in the building of "a Jewish homeland". Rather it would seem that Soviet Jews, having an opportunity unique in Soviet society to leave the country, have seized it out of a number of motives. Amongst these are a simple curiosity about the outside world, which for most Soviet Jews here has been unsatisfied by any earlier travel outside the U.S.S.R., and a desire to sample a western way of life and to savour some of the materialist pleasures which fit into their conception of the West. Given this fairly low level of commitment to Israel itself it is not surprising that when obstacles to easy integration, such as those mentioned above, are met that the "greener fields syndrome" begins to appear. There is no question from our contacts here with Soviet immigrants that they have been disturbed by the changes in Israel's security situation in the last year. If the October War was a grave shock to Israeli society as a whole, it was, even more so, to recently arrived Soviet immigrants, and terrorist incidents such as Ma'alot and Kiryat Shmona have underlined the fact that although Israel, in a spiritual sense, may be a sanctuary for overseas Jewry, it can also be a physically dangerous place to live. Immigrants of military age are subject to army service, if of a shorter period than non-immigrant Israelis, and this, of course, carries with it the very real prospect of being directly involved in warfare.

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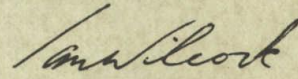
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157

8. With the prospect of an agreement, prompted by American Congressional pressure, on the emigration of Soviet Jewry, the possibility arises of Israel being confronted with a flow of Soviet immigrants considerably in excess of the 35,000 received during 1973. Jewish Agency Chairman, Mr Sapir, has recently spoken, with myopic bravery, of Israel's capacity to absorb up to 100,000 immigrants (from all countries) per year but it seems certain that if immigration were stepped up to this level, given the continuing serious economic and security problems in Israel, there will be a substantially increased number of Soviet Jews seeking to settle outside Israel. Should this flow include an increased proportion of immigrants from sophisticated urban centres such as Moscow, Riga and Odessa, as seems likely, rather than from areas such as Georgia where Jews seem to have maintained a tighter sense of identity, then the "drop out" rate seems sure to be proportionately higher.

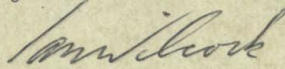
9. Copies of this memorandum have been sent to Paris, Moscow, Washington, Vienna, Beirut, Cairo and Jeddah.



(Ian Wilcock)
Third Secretary

Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW. OP.320

For your inform.



(Ian Wilcock)

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201.4.21 88
156

Job Offers for Dropping Requests

Soviet Shift Is Seen in Jewish Visa Cases

By Murray Seeger

MOSCOW, Aug. 4.—Soviet officials in recent weeks have offered re-employment to a group of Jews if they withdraw their applications for emigration to Israel.

The action, according to usually reliable Jewish sources, is related to secret negotiations between Moscow and Washington on the emigration issue, which has stalemated U.S. congressional action on trade legislation sought by the Kremlin and White House for two years.

"About two dozen Jews have been called to Soviet and Communist party committees and told they could have their jobs back," a Jewish spokesman explained.

"They were told that all they had to do was to renounce their applications for emigration and all would be forgiven."

Message to Jackson

In addition, spokesmen for the Jewish emigration activists have sent a new message to Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., encouraging him on his amendment that would prevent the granting of trade and credit concessions to the Russians until they adopt a policy of free emigration for all citizens.

The Jews rejected the contention of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger that the recent sharp decrease in Jewish emigration proved that the Jackson Amendment had become counterproductive and had to be modified.

The Jews who have been called for re-employment interviews are a small representation of the 1,800 whose applications for emi-

gration to Israel have been refused during the last three years.

None of those called in accepted the offers of re-employment, according to the Moscow sources.

According to the sources, negotiations between Mr. Kissinger, congressional leaders and Soviet officials have progressed halfway through four points of contention.

Annual Quota

The Russians have agreed to allow an annual quota of 45,000

Jews to leave the country, a figure 10,000 above the record flow of emigrants last year.

In addition, the Soviet government has supposedly agreed to halt harassment of Jews who apply for emigration.

On two other issues, however, there has been no progress, according to Moscow Jews.

One question involves the 1,800 "otkozniki" (refused ones), mostly intellectuals whose applications for exit visas have been denied for up to three years and who are the chief pawns in the emigration debate.

There are also about 30 Jews who have been jailed on various charges in recent years, mostly for encouraging others to emigrate.

The second major unresolved issue involves writing regulations to set terms for emigration.

"A quota of 45,000, or even 100,000, will make no difference if they set such rules for emigration that no applications can be approved," a Jewish leader said.

© Los Angeles Times.

Letter From Jerusalem

Not All Milk and Honey For Former Soviet Jews

By Robert G. Kaiser

JERUSALEM—An American journalist who recently completed a three-year assignment in the Soviet Union was riding through Jerusalem the other day with a newly arrived Israeli immigrant from Leningrad. They were stuck in slow-moving traffic on King George Street, and the man from Leningrad let out a long sigh.

"Yes," the American said, "this Israeli traffic is murder." "Oh, it's not the traffic," the former Soviet citizen replied. "I was sighing in amazement. I've been here for five months, but every so often I still sigh in amazement that I'm really in Israel."

The Right Word

Amazement seemed precisely the right word—at least to that American, who is me. As the Israelis themselves say repeatedly, it seems a miracle that nearly 100,000 citizens of the most isolated society in the Western (or nearly Western) world are now living here. It evokes the image of a mass Houdini escape—an implausible feat, but here it is, indisputably real.

It is difficult to imagine former Soviet citizens walking the streets of Jerusalem, Rome and New York the way they do now. To meet a man from Leningrad on a street corner in Tel Aviv must be something like running into a pretty girl in a large public men's room. Aren't you in the wrong place? Are you lost?

Some of them are lost, and they make a tragic spectacle.

I met several of them last month on the scruffy Mediterranean beach in Ostia, near Rome. They were Jews from Odessa, the Ukrainian seaport, who had spent two years in Israel but couldn't make a go of it. "You could live well in Odessa," one of them said wistfully, "if you had money. And boy, did I have money!" Why had he left? He no longer really remembered, he said. But it seemed obvious that he had left to seek even bigger fortunes as have a large percentage of this unexpected wave of emigrants from the Soviet Union.

Odessa is famous for its thriving unofficial economy, many of whose former proprietors seem to be among the new emigrants. They made money in Odessa by hoarding scarce products, skimming profits from legitimate state businesses and other tricks, none of which are workable in a rational, Western-style economy.

supports a daily newspaper, in Russian that is called "Our Country," a name that seems more ironical than accurate. In conversation, most of the Soviet immigrants discuss Israel in terms of "them"—"their" government, "their" army, "their" politicians.

Many find "their country" frustrating, and happily enunciate detailed programs for completely remaking it. "This parliamentary democracy is silly," one professor from Moscow announced the other day. "They need a president, like in America, somebody strong enough to get things done." Though Russian Jews are inside-dopesters, by historic inclination, they find it hard to learn the inside-dope here. "Nobody tells us what's going on," one complained.

Old Joke

The desire to have someone tell you what's going on, what to do, where to shop or sell is widely shared. There's an old joke about the Soviet tailor who opened a shop in Jerusalem. After three weeks he sent a bitter letter of protest to the mayor. "Why don't you send me any clients?" the tailor demanded indignantly.

"Nobody finds you a job," the Russians here complain. Israeli social workers report that if they give a Russian schoolteacher a list of 10 schools that need teachers, she will be hurt and confused. "They don't want to offer themselves for employment," one social worker explained. "They want to be told to start work at school so-and-so Monday at 8:30 period."

The glittering Western world dazzles many of the Soviet Jews. Most of the newcomers in Rome who are on their way to the United States instead of Israel seem to equip themselves speedily with a pair of Western eyeglasses, a new Swiss watch and a modest but unmistakably Western wardrobe. There is a definite tendency toward flashy dressing among the men, who never saw bright clothes in Moscow.

Happy Intellectuals

At the other extreme are the cosmopolitan and happy intellectuals who have managed to move comfortably into new lives. One is a professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, an Israeli citizen for more than three years. "Something very nice is happening to me," he said the other morning. "I'm beginning to forget my old life in the Soviet Union—it's disappearing."

It is impossible to generalize about this heterogeneous group, but most of them do share certain traits—and certain tribulations.

The most obvious of these, not surprisingly, is a general sense that they are in someone else's country. The Israeli government

Big Events

Little outings can be big events. A newcomer in Rome went to a neighborhood restaurant for lunch, but spoke no Italian. After some experimenting, he found he had German in common with the Italian waiter, and ordered his meal. "Isn't that something," he said afterward. "In Moscow we read all the time about the poor, downtrodden Western worker, barely staying alive. And here's an ordinary waiter in Rome who is an educated, cultured man. Do you think there are any waiters in Moscow who speak German? Ha!"

In a strange and unexpected way, Soviet patriotism often survives the wrenching move to the Western world. "In Odessa we could go to the theater every night," a girl complained in Tel Aviv, "but there's no Russian theater here." But did she go every night? No, of course not. And was the theater interesting in Odessa? No, it wasn't. And yet...

"Russians are too impressed by supermarkets," one emigré said of his fellows. "They should realize that there are good historic reasons why the Soviet Union isn't as rich as the United States." Was it just a matter of history. Well, no. Wouldn't Russians be happier if they had supermarkets? Well, yes. But even expatriate Russians often seem prepared to make excuses.

Soviet Imprint

Conversations with several dozen Russian emigrants suggest that life in the Soviet Union leaves a powerful psychological imprint. A man who lived his first 40 years in Moscow doesn't easily adjust to the fundamentally different Western world. Some Russians make the adjustment, some don't, but none find it easy to cope.

"I can't get used to these Westerners," one young man of 23 complained. He had been virtually expelled from Kiev several years ago, when his roommate in a student dormitory was discovered with Zionist literature. He had been in Israel, in several European countries, and now was in Rome, waiting for permission to immigrate to South Africa.

"These Westerners are different than me," he said. "I knew I didn't like Israel the moment I arrived there. I spent six months in Switzerland, but I couldn't get used to it. America? I think that's just a big Israel. So I'm going to South Africa. I think I'll be better off there materially. Do you think I'll like it?"

© The Washington Post

Kissinger, 3 Senators Confer On Soviet Trade, Emigration

By Bernard Gwertzman

WASHINGTON, July 19 (NYT).—Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Sen. Henry Jackson agreed yesterday that they had made progress toward a formula for expediting Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union and congressional passage of trade benefits for Moscow.

Mr. Kissinger reportedly told the senator, a "hard-liner" on Soviet-U.S. relations, that he brought no specific concessions from the recent Moscow summit meeting to break the impasse over the controversial and linked questions of emigration and trade.

But he told Sen. Jackson and two other senators at a State Department breakfast meeting that the Soviet leaders had told President Nixon of their willingness to settle the questions and to work out a deal that did not embarrass them.

Mr. Kissinger, Sen. Jacob Javits, R-N.Y., Sen. Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., and Sen. Jackson, D-Wash., agreed to cooperate in seeking a proposal that could be presented to the Soviet Union, setting forth certain guidelines to insure that emigration is permitted at a high rate and that would-be emigrants were not harassed or prevented from leaving.

Rewriting of Bill

In turn, language would be written into the pending trade bill, passed by the House and now before the Senate Finance Committee, that would replace a harsh amendment sponsored by Sen. Jackson and majorities of both houses of Congress.

That amendment would block credits and nondiscriminatory tariffs to the Russians until they allowed their citizens to emigrate without restrictions.

According to informed sources, Mr. Kissinger said the Russians had made it clear that they could not agree publicly to a quota for emigration. Last year, about 35,000 Jews were allowed to leave the Soviet Union, but the rate this year has dropped about 45 per cent from 1973.

Before the Moscow summit conference, the administration had told the senators that the Soviet Union probably would agree to an emigration figure of 45,000 yearly. The senators had replied then that the figure should be 50,000 to 60,000.

At the breakfast, however, there was agreement not to press for a published quota but rather to get the Soviet Union to agree to procedures for a high emigration rate.

The participants further agreed that as a way of determining Soviet good faith, the number of emigrants reaching Israel or other countries would be counted to see if the rate was acceptable.

Harassment Issue

The trade bill could be written, officials said, so that Congress could block credits or tariffs to the Soviet Union if the number of emigrants fell too low or if would-be emigrants were harassed. At present, Jewish groups in the United States complain that those seeking to leave the Soviet Union are often fired from their jobs and have to endure mental and physical anguish.

After the breakfast, Sen. Jackson said: "I think it's fair to say we made some progress. The biggest problem is... we have to find a way to improve the situation on emigration without the Russians losing face."

"The heart of our problem in working out an agreement is the issue of harassment," he said. "It isn't just the numbers of people that will come out, but are there means by which we can be assured that those who apply will be able to get out?"

"The secretary," he said, "feels encouraged that there can be worked out a formula that will be acceptable."

201-4-21
154 86

153 85
CONFIDENTIAL

File No: 201.4.2

Memo No: 778

30 July 1974

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
Canberra, A.C.T.

SOVIET JEWS
(Your file 69/2/5/7)

Please refer to your memo 317. You will have seen Washington's memorandum 1480 which reported assurances given to Kissinger by Gromyko that emigration restrictions for Jews would be eased. We are aware that there has been a drop in the number of Jewish emigrants leaving the Soviet Union, but this has not been drastic. Probably not as drastic as the article from 'The Age' suggested. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that this drop reflects an increase in the number of refusals on the part of the Soviet authorities to issue exit visas. There has, in fact, been fewer applications for visas over the past months. The exact reasons for this are uncertain, but one reason could be the harassment and repercussions that often follow an application. Other reasons might be to do with the problems and disillusionment other emigrants have been confronted with in Israel.

2. Copy of this memo has been sent to Washington.

Jr
p (R.G. Crick)
Second Secretary

Australian Embassy,
WASHINGTON

Memo No: 56

CONFIDENTIAL

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

INWARD CABLEGRAM

201.4.2 152 ⁸⁴

From: TEL AVIV

No.: 006

Received: 28.6.74

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TO.
RR MOSCOW/006

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RR WASHINGTON/055

FM. TEL AVIV /FILE 201/6

C O N F I D E N T I A L

USA/USSR : SOVIET JEWS.

THE DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION OF WZO TOLD ME YESTERDAY, 27 JUNE, THAT KISSINGER HAD OBTAINED USSR AGREEMENT TO INCREASE JEWISH EMIGRATION RATE TO 50,000 PER YEAR.

THIS HAD BEEN REJECTED BY SENATOR HENRY JACKSON AND OTHER SUPPORTERS OF ISRAEL.

THEY HAD TOLD THE PRESIDENT AND KISSINGER THIS NUMBER WAS ONLY A SMALL INCREASE ON PRESENT RATE AND, IF THERE HAD TO BE A COMPROMISE ON PRINCIPLE OF FREE EMIGRATION, THE ANNUAL RATE SHOULD BE 100,000 A FIGURE LARGE ENOUGH TO GIVE HOPE TO THE SOVIET JEWS.

THERE WERE ALREADY 180,000 APPLICATIONS AWAITING APPROVAL.

THE MATTER WAS STILL UNRESOLVED WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON LEFT FOR MOSCOW.

....DALRYMPLE.

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100,000 180,000

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CONFIDENTIAL

201. 4. 2. 151
CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

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69/2/5/7



12 June 1974

Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW

Australian Embassy,
WASHINGTON

Memo No:

317

Memo No:

SOVIET JEWS

Please find attached a press clipping from "The Age" of 10 June which reports Kissinger as having said that the Soviet Union had showed the rate of Jewish emigration to Israel in retaliation against pressure from the United States Senate.

2. We would be grateful to receive any comments you may have about this report.

(John Dauth)
East Europe Section

Mr Crick

ring Datch

CONFIDENTIAL

WORLD NEWS

Retaliation for U.S. pressure.

Dr. K tells Senate committee

Russians cut back Jewish emigration

From ROY MACARTNEY

WASHINGTON, June 9. — Russia had slowed the rate of Jewish emigration to Israel in retaliation against pressure from the United States Senate, the Secretary of State (Dr. Henry Kissinger) said yesterday.

He told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that emigration, which had jumped from 400 during 1969 to 35,000 in 1973 — had been cut by 25 per cent.

Senators wanting to help Soviet Jews should be working on an acceptable form for the amendment holding up the trade bill which would grant tariff treatment to Russia equal to that accorded other nations.

(An amendment proposed by Democratic Senator Henry Jackson would deny most favored nation trade treatment to any country which did not permit free emigration of minorities.)

The Washington Post yesterday called on Senator

Jackson editorially to modify his stand.

Soviet Jewish emigration to Israel ran at 3000 a month in 1973, 2400 early in 1974, but had dropped to 1226 in May this year.

"The figures say that the Russians are prepared to be just as tough as the senator," the newspaper said.

"If he is going to slow trade they are going to slow emigration."

Amendment

Senator Jackson yesterday also incurred the anger of Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield.

Jackson, who opposes detente with the Soviet Union, almost slipped an amendment through the Senate which would have given the Secretary of Defense the right to veto any export that "might signi-

ficantly increase the military capability" of the Soviet Union or other communist countries.

Senator George Aiken said later the amendment was so broad it could have prohibited shovels for the Soviet Union in case they might be used for digging trenches.

With only a handful of senators on the floor — mainly supporters from the armed services committee — Jackson was about to get voice agreement when Mansfield returned.

He objected that a "most momentous amendment was being considered in such a haphazard fashion."

Mansfield insisted that the Senate should first hear the views of President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger on the proposal, and postponed a vote till Tuesday.

You can leave, Panovs told

MOSCOW, June 9. — The Soviet Union yesterday agreed to allow ballet dancer Valery Panov and his wife to emigrate to Israel.

The decision ends a two-year battle by the Panovs for permission to leave the country.

Panov, 34, a former dancer with Leningrad's Kirov ballet, said yesterday that he had been called to the visa office in Vilnius, Lithuania, and told he must leave the Soviet Union by Thursday.

His pregnant wife, Galina 24, could also go.

"It's quiet unusual," Panov said. "I won't stay here an hour longer than I have to."

Earlier this year, Panov



● Valery Panov.

was given an exit permit and told tough measures would be taken against him unless he left the Soviet Union.

He refused because no permit was given to his wife. He was later stripped of his title of Honored Artist.



EMBASSY OF AUSTRALIA

IN REPLY QUOTE: 221/9/8

Memorandum No: 1480

6 June 1974

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA

USSR - JEWISH EMIGRATION

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Attached is a press clipping from the "New York Times" of 6 June, 1974 which reported on a further meeting between Dr Kissinger and Congressional sponsors of the Jackson Amendment.

2. According to this report, Dr Kissinger told the members of Congress of general assurances which he had been given about Jewish emigration from the USSR during the Kissinger/Gromyko meetings in the Middle East on 5 and 28 May, 1974.

3. A copy of this memorandum with attachment has been sent to Moscow.

(M.W. Hughes)
First Secretary

C.C.
Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW No.39

For your information.

M. W. Hughes
(M.W. Hughes)
First Secretary

Mr. C. G. G. G.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 1971

148

Kissinger Cites Soviet Pledge on Jews

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 5—Secretary of State Kissinger told three Senators today that he had received assurances recently from Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko that emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union would be further eased, according to Senate aides.

A State Department spokesman confirmed that Mr. Kissinger had breakfast with Senators Henry M. Jackson, Washington Democrat; Jacob K. Javits, New York Republican; and Abraham Ribicoff, Connecticut Democrat.

Mr. Kissinger was said to have had "a good discussion on the Jackson amendment" with the Senators.

The amendment, to the Administration's trade bill, would require free Soviet emigration in exchange for the granting of trade and tariff treatment to the Soviet Union equal to that accorded most other United States trading partners.

It was Mr. Kissinger's fourth meeting with Senator Jackson on the issue in the last six months. He saw him alone the first time, together with Senator Ribicoff a second time, and with Senators Ribicoff and Javits twice.

According to Senate aides, Mr. Kissinger had decided to make a direct approach to the Soviet leadership in an effort to obtain an easing of emigration restrictions.

He was said to have received assurances to this effect in a meeting with Mr. Gromyko on Cyprus on May 5. Mr. Gromyko amplified them on May 28 in their brief meeting in Damascus, Syria, at the close of Mr. Kissinger's Middle East mission.

It could not be learned what Mr. Gromyko told Mr. Kissinger on the issue. A well-placed diplomatic official said he understood the Soviet Foreign Minister had spoken in general terms rather than specifying numbers or emigration quotas.

After having heard what Mr. Kissinger had to convey, Senator Ribicoff commented that he felt "some progress has been made" in reconciling the Administration's view of the trade bill with that of the Jackson group.

In what seemed to be a contrast, President Nixon declared today in a speech at Annapolis, Md., that the United States "cannot gear our foreign policy to the transformation of other societies." Mr. Nixon threatened to veto his own trade bill if the House and Senate submitted it was the Jackson amendment.

The house adopted the legislation last year with its equivalent amendment, submitted by Representative Charles A. Vanik of Ohio.

In the Senate the bill has yet to be presented for a vote. Senator Russell B. Long, Louisiana Democrat, who is chairman of the Finance Committee, has said the dispute over the Jackson amendment must be resolved first.

The amendment has 78 Senate sponsors. But many of these are said to be eager for a compromise that would allow the trade bill to go through and, at

the same time, express the will of the majority that they want free emigration from the Soviet Union and other East European countries.

"Nobody on our side wants a self-defeating crunch," said an aide of one of the Senators who attended the one-hour breakfast at the State Department. ("now there is more something to put on the table. Maybe the amendment can be revised. Maybe it will not even be necessary.")

Another aide said: "There are people who want to get out of the Soviet Union. If we can get something from the Soviet Union, we can work it out. Once there are assurances, we could have a reformulation of the amendment or changes."

It was uncertain, however, whether Senator Jackson could

be moved. Some of his colleagues said today they thought he would be unwilling to compromise.

The temper in the House was also hard to judge. Representative Lester L. Wolff, Democrat of Nassau County said he had not heard anything to make him change his opinion, even though he conferred on the subject last week with a visiting Soviet group in New York.

Mr. Kissinger has asked to see Mr. Wolff soon and may be preparing to tell him what he told the three senators.

The eight-member delegation of deputies of the Supreme Soviet, led by Boris N. Ponomarev, spent most of five days in Washington last month testing opinion in the Congress on the trade-emigration issue.

14781

Now the Panovs are dancing for joy... *South 10/6*

MOSCOW, Sunday. — A two-year struggle by Jewish ballet dancers Valery and Galina Panov to emigrate ended yesterday when Soviet authorities told them they could leave. Valery, 34, told callers: "I am very excited."

"We are very happy." His pregnant wife, Galina, 24, in hospital in the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius,

shed tears amid smiles at the news.

Panov said he was called to a visa office in Vilnius where Lithuanian officials informed him of the Leningrad decision.

"I have to leave within five days from today," he said.

Panov said he felt sure that protests by prominent figures in the West had helped his fight, which started early in 1972, although this has been denied by Soviet sources.

He said he had no firm offers of employment in the West and no concrete ideas about the future. Asked if he would settle in Israel, he replied: "I am unsure. My art belongs to the people."

LONDON, Sunday. — Despite assurances by the

British Prime Minister, Mr Harold Wilson, that the Soviet Union's Bolshoi Ballet would get a warmer welcome in Britain if the Panovs were freed, demonstrations are to go ahead at their six-week tour, which starts next week.

Mrs Doreen Gainsford, chairman of the Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry, said today: "The Panovs are only two of thousands awaiting visas and being persecuted for having applied to go to Israel."

"All demonstrations against the Bolshoi will not only continue but be stepped up, as has Soviet Government persecution of Soviet Jews in the last two weeks."

(AAP-Reuter)

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Jews blocked by Soviet exit curbs

THE number of Soviet Jews applying for permission to leave the country has fallen sharply in recent weeks after the Government brought in regulations to make emigration more difficult.

Since March 1, according to Jewish sources, all new applicants for exit visas have been required to visit their district police headquarters to have their papers inspected before they apply for visas at the passport office.

This intimidating procedure has added to other recent developments to frighten Soviet Jews and make them hesitate before applying to leave. One Jew said applications to leave have been reduced by 50 per cent in some cities.

"The first wave of Jews is gone," he said. "When the door was first opened a crack, there was a rush of people to leave before it was slammed shut again."

"Now emigration is more like a fact of life. Most of the older religious Jews who wanted to go have gotten out without too much trouble. The next wave includes more educated Jews and they are more cautious about applying."

In addition to the new police screening, the would-be emigres must have all their papers typed in a country with few typewriters.

They must get character

From MURRAY SEEGER: MOSCOW, FRIDAY

ter references from wherever they worked in the previous six months — a step apparently designed to hinder Jews from quitting jobs just before they apply, to avoid being fired — have all their papers renewed after a year and give up their homes two or three weeks before departing.

JAILED

Another source said that in late February 40 per cent of those applying for visas were refused, compared with the average of 10 per cent refusals during 1973.

The slowdown in exit applications suggests that the Government's treatment of a group of Jewish intellectuals who have been waiting to go for two years is having an effect on other well-established Jews, who do not want to risk their positions by applying for visas.

The Government also has jailed a few activists accused of promoting emigration to Israel. Most of their trials were held outside Moscow and received little publicity in the Western press.

"I know a professor who wants to leave, but who also said he does

not want to be out of work for two or three months like Professor Lerner," one source said.

Professor Alexander Lerner, a computer specialist, is one of the best-known of the estimated 300 Jewish intellectuals who were first denied visas more than two years ago and most of whom have been barred from working at their professions ever since.

Moscow Jews also report that letters sent to the Soviet Union from Israel reflect considerable disenchantment by some of the recent emigrants.

The intellectuals, in particular, complain that they can't get jobs as good as they expected and have had some language difficulties after arriving in Israel.

"None wants to come back," said a Jew, a source asserted. "It's just that there are not enough jobs for them. The Israeli Government should do more for those who speak only Russian."

A total of 34,750 Jews left the Soviet Union in 1973, swelling the three-year total of emigres to 80,000.

Los Angeles Times

Mr. Kogler
Mr. Papp
Mr. Glick

Amstater 23 March

79

145

Times 6/5/74

**Jews accuse
Russia of
emigration cut**
By a Staff Reporter
The Soviet Union has adopted
a new policy of deliberately
reducing the number of Jews
allowed to emigrate, a confer-
ence of world Jewish leaders
claimed yesterday.
The 9,000 Jews allowed to
leave for Israel in the first
four months of 1974 was 25 per
cent below the number for the
same period of 1973.
The conference, held in
London under strict security,
included representatives of
Jewish communities in 15 coun-
tries.
The conference discussed new
ways to put pressure on the
Soviet Union.

R/S Powys on 201.4.2

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

INWARD CABLEGRAM

144

201.4.2.

From.: TEL AVIV

No.: OP 89

Received: 4/2/74

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LM 185
TAL049
ZRNWU KNOOK RT0FN COUMW

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ADDRESSED CANBERRA 041, REPEATED MOSCOW 0P.89, VIENNA 0P.90.

PANOVOS.

YOUR 030.

WE ASKED REUTERS OFFICE HERE TO CHECK THEIR FILES ON THIS STORY.

THEY INFORMED US YESTERDAY 30 JANUARY THAT THEY HAD BEEN THROUGH THEIR FILES AND COULD CONFIRM THAT THEY HAD FILED NO SUCH REPORT.

THE KNOW NOTHING OF THE STORY.

2. AS FAR AS WE CAN ESTABLISH, NO NEW INFORMATION ON THE PANOVOS IS AVAILABLE HERE AND POSITION REMAINS THAT HE HAS BEEN TOLD HE CAN LEAVE BUT PERMISSION FOR THE WIFE TO GO HAS BEEN WITHHELD.

CFM : 041 0P.89 0P.90 030
ENDS : 31.1530LT
LMS

Mr. Crick R

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED
AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

OUTWARDS TELEGRAM

MOL 899

202.7.1

To: CANBERRA 88 OP12
REPEAT VIENNA, TEL AVIV OP13

Sent: 28 January 1974

PANOV'S

Your 087.

Neither Reuters nor American Embassy can confirm
report of Panov's expected arrival in Vienna.

RESTRICTED

CANBERRA

087

25-1-74

201.4.2.

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COUMW KNOOK ZRNWU RTOFN

UNCLASSIFIED

ADDRESSED MOSCOW 087 REPEATED VIENNA 184 TEL AVIV 030.

PANOV

REUTER REPORT OF 25 DECEMBER FROM TEL AVIV STATED VALERY PANOV, SOVIET JEWISH DANCER, AND WIFE GALINA PANOV WERE EXPECTED TO ARRIVE VIENNA SHORTLY, EN ROUTE TO ISRAEL, AFTER OBTAINING EXIT VISAS.

PLEASE ADVISE IF YOU HAVE ANYFURTHER DETAILS.

CFM: 087 184 030 25 VALERY PANOV GALINA
ENDS 25/2137AST
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Vienna Saw. 141⁷⁵
4/1/74

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2.

met Chancellor Brandt and Premier Palme to discuss without result a common energy policy.

A meeting with the Shah of Iran proved more fruitful and allowed Austria to further its policy of securing oil supplies through direct bilateral contacts. Estimates on Austria's economic performance for 1974 were revised downwards and some foreign workers were laid off.

The transit camp for Soviet Jews at Schönau was finally closed. Relations with Czechoslovakia moved further towards normalisation.

External:

Summit Meeting on Energy Policy

2. Chancellor Kreisky met with Chancellor Brandt and Premier Palme on 2 December to discuss a common energy policy. No results were achieved from this meeting which merely agreed that the energy crisis should be placed on the agenda of the European Security Conference. It was stated that it was of great importance for the countries to reach "a maximum of security and understanding" in the field of energy supply.

Transit of Jewish Emigrants

3. The Transit Camp at Schönau which was used by the Jewish Agency for Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union was formally closed on 10 December. The closure of Schönau was in accordance with the Government's undertaking to the Palestinian guerillas and the representatives of Arab Governments in Vienna following the seizure of Jewish hostages on the Austrian-Czechoslovak border on 29 September. In future, all Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union will be required to continue their journey to Israel as quickly as possible and only where it is absolutely necessary will they be allowed to use the reduced facilities of a refugee transit station at Wöllersdorf run by the Austrian Red Cross.

4. Returnee Soviet Jews

On 10 December 100 Russian Jews were forcibly ejected by police after demonstrating inside the Soviet Consulate where they were demanding re-entry permits to

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return home after emigrating to Israel. The demonstrators were from a group of 317 Russians stranded in Vienna, many of whom have been in Austria for up to three years seeking permits to return to the Soviet Union. In a Soviet news report issued in Moscow, it was made clear that there was no immediate hope of the Soviet authorities meeting their demands.

Iran

5. The Shah of Iran visited Austria for a check-up by his medical specialist, Dr Fellsinger. The Austrian Government seized upon his visit to demonstrate to the public that they were doing all that was possible to secure Austria's oil supplies. The Shah and Chancellor Kreisky held several meetings which resulted in an agreement of intent for Austria to establish an oil refinery in Iran, the refined oil products of which would be exported solely to Austria. The agreement also envisaged further co-operation between the two countries especially in the generation of hydroelectric power in Iran. The Shah's visit was marked by a number of small demonstrations by Iranian students protesting at the imprisonment of the Shah's opponents.

Czechoslovakia

6. Following the normalisation of relations between the FRG and Czechoslovakia, there were further indications during the month that relations between Austria and Czechoslovakia are also moving towards normalisation. In a speech to Parliament Foreign Minister Kirschschläger emphasised Austria's determination to improve relations with Czechoslovakia. These sentiments were reflected in an address by Czechoslovak Premier Strougal before the Czechoslovak Parliament when he said that Czechoslovakia was interested in finding a solution to unsolved questions such as the property issue, and wished to develop relations to the mutual interests of both countries. The most immediate sign of a change was the return to the Austrian legation in Prague of the Austrian Minister who was recalled in September in protest at the forcing down of two Austrian aircraft.

Poland

7. An agreement was reached with Poland under which Austria will receive AS.71,500,000 in compensation for property nationalised by the Polish Government in 1945.

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74

139

LONDON ON 1963 IS NEW LONDON
JERUSALEM AND SOME OTHERS
**54,800 Emigrated
To Israel in 1973**

JERUSALEM, Jan. 3 (UPI).—Israel received 54,800 immigrants last year, slightly fewer than the 55,900 who arrived in 1972, the Immigration Absorption Ministry has announced.

Among the new arrivals were 4,600 from North America and 4,350 from South America, according to figures compiled by the Central Bureau of Statistics in a report issued yesterday.

The report made no mention of Soviet immigrants, who numbered 34,750 according to information from Moscow this week. Israeli censorship has restricted details on arrivals from the Soviet Union since the October war.

About 1,400 immigrants came from France, 700 from Britain and 600 from South Africa, the government report added.

201.4.2

73

138

Russians Allowed 34,750 Jews To Leave Country Last Year

MOSCOW, Jan. 2 (UPI).— Soviet authorities allowed a record number of 34,750 Jews to emigrate last year, fulfilling party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev's pledge to Congress, diplomats said today.

The previous high was 31,500 in 1972.

The increase in emigration coincided with reports from Jewish sources that secret police have intensified pressure on many Jews seeking to go to Israel.

They said that several dozen Jews, including ballet dancer Valery Panov, have been threatened by the secret police with imprisonment for having no visible means of support.

All Jews applying to emigrate automatically lose their jobs and Mr. Panov has not worked for two years. Authorities recently offered to let him emigrate without his non-Jewish wife.

Promise to Congress

Mr. Brezhnev, the Communist party general secretary, promised a congressional group during his

visit to the United States last June that Jewish emigration for the year would exceed the 1972 figure.

Mr. Brezhnev made his promise as the Soviet Union was trying to block congressional passage of an amendment to deny trade benefits to Russia unless it allowed free emigration of all citizens.

The amendment, opposed also by the Nixon administration, has been adopted by the House of Representatives and is awaiting Senate action.

Emigration ran at above-average levels through the last four months of 1973 in what diplomats saw as a determined bid by the Russians to fulfill the Brezhnev pledge. The highest figure for any one month, 4,200, came during October despite the Middle East war, which was going on at the time.

Diplomats said that about 3,050 Jews were given exit visas last month, down slightly from the November figure of 3,500.

fu 201-42

I.H.T. 2/12/73

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137

The Freedom to Leave Russia

By Benjamin Levich

MOSCOW.—About two months have passed since the Soviet Union ratified the International Covenants of Human Rights guaranteeing the right of citizens to freely leave any country, including their own, and return. All powers, large and small, ought to implement these covenants.

By the Soviet act of ratification, the problem of free emigration is no longer a domestic problem of this country. The request that it implement an international obligation should not be considered intervention in the domestic affairs of this country.

I believe that this is clear enough, and only those who wish to make it complicated are raising the question of nonintervention. Meanwhile, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* printed an article by Isaak Mints, member of the Academy, an expert in the history of the Communist party of the U.S.S.R., which cannot help but cause most serious anxiety.

It is stated point blank that definite categories of citizens, namely scientists, should be deprived of opportunities to emigrate. Scientists, according to Mints, are valuable goods which monopolistic capital is eager to buy. In fact, scientists are treated as life-long property of the state.

Deserve Fate

The conclusion drawn is this: Emigration of scientists should be prohibited. Those unworthy persons who openly expressed the intention of leaving have proven to be "traitors to their fatherland" and have justly deserved their fate.

I am convinced that by no means did Mints express an opinion of his own. It is well known that for decades he has represented official views of Soviet authorities, his personal convictions obediently following any change in the situation.

Thus far, the Soviet authorities have made practically no concessions of principle on emigration. The only concession made to public opinion was the suspension of the education tax.

But in principle, there have been no changes for the better in Soviet emigration policy. There is no freedom of emigration, even restricted to reuniting families and national minorities.

The methods of quiet diplomacy have only resulted in a small quantity of Jews being let out, but that does not mean there have been any essential changes in principle. The authorities have become more sophisticated and have developed a technology of detention.

A Quota

The technology of detention does not prevent a certain quota of Jews from being let out. This quota gives the impression that there is an actual opportunity for people to leave, but it should not create a false impression that there have been any changes for the better on emigration.

I think America would never have reached the summits of its technical, cultural and economic development if the European countries had conducted the same emigration policy now conducted by the Soviet Union.

I would like to ask a question of Henry Kissinger, who was among the last fortunate people to succeed in leaving Germany just before its borders were closed. I would like to ask Mr. Kissinger: At that time, did he think that the forced detention of citizens in a country was an internal affair of that country?

At present, Soviet authorities are successfully using an old political maneuver. The violation of the most fundamental right of people to choose the place of residence is declared an internal affair of the country.

When some liberals tried to protest against the anti-Semitic laws of fascist Germany, ferocious voices growled, "Don't dare interfere in the internal affairs of the Third Reich," and timid voices fell silent. Everyone re-

members what evil followed this connivance. I would like to believe that humanity has learned something since that time, and the world has become wiser since the time of my youth.

Apartheid

The struggle against the laws of apartheid in some African countries is hardly considered domestic interference by anyone.

The political leaders of the U.S.S.R., like many other people on earth, have protested against the bloody events in Chile.

The question arises, is it an intervention into the domestic affairs of a sovereign country, as the representatives of the military junta have stated? Or is it a justified concern about the violation of elementary principles of humanism? I am firmly convinced of the correctness of the second viewpoint, because for human rights, there should be no frontiers.

Making a speech at the UN, Jacob Malik, the Soviet representative, says it is preposterous to execute anyone for his convictions. I fully agree. One of the most important elements of Soviet emigration policy is just the slow execution of those Jewish intellectuals who are denied their opportunity and right to leave the country.

It's curious logic that one shouldn't execute and persecute anyone for Communist ideas but it is possible for other convictions. When Communists are concerned, intervention in their fate is justly called humanism. But when concern about the fate of other citizens is expressed, no matter how tragic, this is interpreted as intervention in internal affairs.

Mr. Levich is an electrochemist. He is the highest-ranking Soviet Academician to apply for an exit visa to Israel. This article was written for *The New York Times*.



RESTRICTED

71

136

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
VIENNA

File No. 225.2.

Memo No. 1080.

11th December 1973.

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA

Returning Soviet Jews.



On 3rd December, nineteen Soviet Jews who want to return to the Soviet Union and who have lived in a half demolished house at Maltzgasse, Vienna, for almost three years, demonstrated inside the Soviet Embassy for their re-entry visas. According to press reports they were persuaded to leave (after chasing a Consul out of his office) only when the Embassy staff called on the Austrian police for assistance. No arrests were made. However, the Embassy informed the demonstrators that they would have to continue waiting for their re-entry visas and nothing could be done to speed up their applications.

2. The situation of the Soviet Jews at Maltzgasse is a tragic one. Most of them were amongst the earliest arrivals of Soviet Jews in Israel and their experiences there disillusioned them and led them to decide to return to the Soviet Union. Occasionally, they have been interviewed on Austrian television and their replies have shown that they are in general of a humble background, most of them being tradesmen, whose brief experience of life outside the Soviet Union awakened in them a sense of Russian identity which they are reluctant to relinquish. In their criticisms of Israel they have alluded to high prices, lack of social security and the greed of capitalist society. But these reasons are perhaps merely a rationalisation of a much deeper culture shock. As misfits in a free enterprise economy, and wishing to return to the Soviet Union they have always been careful never to jeopardize their chance of obtaining re-entry visas by saying anything derogatory about the Soviet Union.

3. Their situation in Vienna has been anything but pleasant as they have been shunned by the Jewish Agency and other refugee organisations (which are not used to handling such a reverse flow) and the Soviet Embassy; even the Austrian authorities have only given them the minimum of assistance as they do not want them to stay indefinitely. The returnees have been living in a derelict house and with the onset of winter their situation has worsened as the house is without heating and is scheduled for demolition. The demonstration at the Soviet Embassy has drawn some attention to their

File 201.4-2

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Mr. [Signature]

There has been some press

this month says in the [Signature]

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- 2 -

135

plight and the Vienna City Council is said to be looking for alternative accommodation and is endeavouring to find some employment for them, a problem accentuated by their inability to speak anything but Yiddish and Russian.

4. The attitude of the Soviet authorities to the returnees is unclear. On the face of it, they could obtain some propaganda advantage from publicising their experiences in Israel but perhaps uppermost in their calculations is their wish to keep them out of the Soviet Union as undesirables. Certainly, their best chance of returning would appear to lie in attracting publicity in the western press.

5. Copies of this memorandum have been sent to Moscow and Tel Aviv.

C.H. Stuart

(C.H. Stuart)
First Secretary

Australian Embassy, ✓
MOSCOW.

Memo No. OP 90.

Australian Embassy,
TEL AVIV.

Memo No. OP 91.

For your information.

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13470

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SENATE QUESTION

QUESTION NO. 499



Senator Kane asked the Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon notice:

1. What were the occasions and dates on which the Australian Government made known its attitude on the fundamental human rights of free emigration of a nation's citizens to the Soviet Government.
2. At what diplomatic level was the attitude of the Australian Government put to the Soviet Government.
3. Did the Australian Government, in making its attitude known to the Soviet Government, specify restrictions on Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union as an instance of the denial of this fundamental human right; if so, on what occasion, on what date, and at what diplomatic or governmental level was this done.
4. Did the Australian Government protest, that is, make a formal statement of dissent or disapproval of the Soviet Government, specifically concerning that Government's refusal to allow free emigration of its Jewish citizens; if so, on what occasion, on what date, and at what diplomatic or governmental level was this done.

ANSWER:

Senator Willesee: The answer to the Honourable Senator's question is as follows:-

The Australian Government has on numerous occasions in the past made known its views that all countries should respect the terms of the Universal Declaration of

Mr. Luck R.

file 201.4.2

Human Rights, of which the right to emigrate is an essential part. As leader of the Australian Delegation I stressed in my statement to the current session of the United Nations General Assembly the importance which Australia attached to the full implementation of all international instruments concerned with human rights. In 1970, in the Third Committee of the U.N. General Assembly, the Australian representative expressed concern about the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union and appealed to the Soviet Union to resist from policies or practices of discrimination against citizens of Jewish origin and to allow those wishing to emigrate to do so. Reference was also made to the same issue by the Australian representative to the 1971 meeting of the Third Committee. Since then, the Soviet Union has considerably relaxed its restrictions on the emigration of Jews with the result that an increasing number of Jewish citizens have been permitted to emigrate from the USSR. The Australian Government applauds this development.

Soviet Jews: why they leave - then want to return

Last week a demonstration of Jews took place outside the Soviet Embassy in Vienna. The participants were not demonstrating for the right of Jews to leave the Soviet Union but were demonstrating for the right to return.

According to an editorial in the New York Yiddish-language daily Morning Freiheit, a large conference of Soviet immigrants took place in Israel last August. It followed various demonstrations and hunger strikes against conditions in Israel.

The editorial states: "It is no longer news that many Soviet immigrants in Israel find themselves in difficult straits. Most of them were materially well off in the Soviet Union. In Israel they not only experience the hard adjustment period any immigrant in a new country is likely to undergo. Their situation is made more difficult by the fact that they come from a socialist state where citizens enjoy benefits which people in capitalist countries do not have, such as free medical attention, free education for children, etc.. Seeking jobs from private entrepreneurs is a new experience for such immigrants and in many cases a quite bitter one. A number of immigrants are professionals who can't find employment in their fields. Added to this Israel is suffering from galloping inflation.

No doubt the recent war in the Middle East has also influenced many immigrants.

The situation is very complex. Paul Novick, a veteran Jewish-American marxist and editor of Morning Freiheit spent a month in Israel earlier this year. Writing on why Soviet Jews left the USSR he says:

WHY THEY LEAVE

"The great majority of Soviet Jews who come to Israel do so for three basic reasons: "1. Jews are officially designated as a nationality in the Soviet Union, but they do not enjoy the cultural opportunities accorded to other nationalities. Soviet Jews have no way to express their Jewish ethnic id-

entification whether in Yiddish, Russian or other languages (for example, to study the history of the Jewish people, to learn of the life of Jews abroad where they have relatives and family ties).

"2. Jews encounter restrictions placed on Yiddish cultural developments. They lack such institutions as newspapers, a theatre, children's schools, or where these are not feasible, supplementary courses in Yiddish, Yiddish literature, Jewish history, etc., wherever such courses could be given. No Yiddish textbooks are available, not even aids to learn the alphabet, despite the fact that almost 400,000 Soviet Jews declared Yiddish to be their mother tongue in the 1970 census."

Novick shows how some immigrants are fed false information from Israel:

"Lyuba Bershadskaya wrote in her letter published in Sovietish Heimland (a Soviet publication - Ed.) that the Israeli radio programs tricked Soviet Jews with the propaganda that Yiddish schools function in Israel and that 'children attend Yiddish schools and speak mameh loshn (the mother tongue)'.

"If the Kol Yisroel radio had actually broadcast such statements it was a swindle! There are no Yiddish children's schools in Israel, except as we were told, for a course in Yiddish in one school in Haifa and in the Bundist Workmen's Circle in Tel Aviv. There is a Yiddish department in the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and more recently another such department was instituted in the Tel Aviv University. (The subject of Yiddish in Israel and of the discrimination against Yiddish there in favor of Hebrew deserves separate consideration.)

ANTI-SEMITISM

"3. A most important reason for the departure of Soviet Jews to Israel is the widespread 'anti-Zionist' propaganda of the anti-Semites Yevgeny Yevseyev, Bolshakov, Ivanov, Kolesnikov, Shevtsov, Kichko and others. To these may be added Zandenbergh, the writer of a crude anti-Semitic article which appeared in the Soviet Information Bulletin in Paris last September, as well as Vladimir Begun, the

author of a disgraceful article published in a recent issue of the magazine Nieman in Minsk. Their propaganda creates an uncomfortable atmosphere, mildly speaking, for many Jews in their workplaces and among their neighbors...

"Some Soviet immigrants told me that even though they themselves would disregard this propaganda, their children refused to tolerate it. One man, previously a resident of Odessa who had a good position there, told me that he came to Israel at the insistence of his teenage daughter.

"These experiences are surely not valid for the large majority of Soviet Jews who will remain in their homeland and participate in its socialist construction. Nevertheless, such experiences are part of the picture and they have their effect on considerable numbers. Tens of thousands have left already and there are certainly many others who feel uneasy for these reasons but can't persuade themselves to give up a good apartment, a good job, comrades, friends and family and go off to a capitalist country."

DISTORTED REPORTS

There have been many distorted reports about the Soviet immigrants. It has been suggested, for example, that only the elderly seek to migrate although figures show that up to May 1973 only 8 per cent were over 65 while 50 per cent were under 30.

The difficulties placed in the way of those wishing to leave for Israel are well known. Central to the problem is the fact that no Soviet citizen is able to leave and return freely. This prevents the option of "going and seeing" and makes the choice "all or nothing."

In these circumstances, the Soviet government decided to charge intending migrants for part of their educational training. This was later dropped. The same circumstances now raise obstacles for those who want to return home. In most cases their houses and professional positions have been filled. And overriding everything else is the fact that the social situations which led many Soviet Jews to migrate in the first place remain.

But there is now another side which has not been the subject of a worldwide publicity campaign. Those who want to leave Israel face extreme difficulties. The Israeli government demands repayment for airfares, luggage insurance, a "setting-up" loan, and, sometimes, accommodation costs incurred before a migrant obtained a job. Exit permits are seldom granted to those of military age or younger. In some cases only temporary permits are granted which means that a travel document, but not a passport, is issued. It also requires the purchase of a return ticket.

HARD TO QUIT ISRAEL

While the Soviet Union has been the target of an international campaign to "Let my people go" little effort has been made by those promoting this campaign to acquaint intending immigrants with the real situation in Israel, or what faces them if they want to leave.

More recently several states, particularly the Arab states, have criticised the Soviet Union for allowing any immigration to Israel on the grounds that these people will become fighters against the Arab peoples.

In all these circumstances those who maintain and support the continuation of the "Let my people go" campaign can only be described as irresponsible.

The question "Why do they leave?" is posed for both the Soviet Union and Israel. It is doubtful if Israel will, or can, find an answer, but if the Soviet Union fights, as Lenin fought openly, against anti-Semitism, the problem can be solved.

Paul Novick sees good beginnings in a recent statement by Aaron Vergelis against the anti-Semite Yevseyev (a report on this was published in Tribune July 24-30, 1973). Vergelis has written a small pamphlet "Letters from Europe" which is now available in English from Novosti Press Agency. It provides further information on several case histories of Soviet Jews who have left Israel and, while figures are not given, it is clear that some, at least, have been able to return to the USSR.

Tribune, December 11-17, 197

Tribune Dec 73

file 201.4.2

Time 19/10/73.

for 2014-2

68

EUROPE

EMIGRANTS

Triumph for Terrorism

132



In the 18 years that have passed since the last Soviet occupation forces left Austrian soil, that tiny gateway nation of Middle Europe had gained friends by being evenhanded to East and West and openhearted to anyone in trouble. When Hungarians fled the Russian repression of 1956, they were sheltered in Austria. When the "Prague Spring" ended in 1968, exiled Czechs came to Austria. Lately the troubled journeyers have been Soviet Jews en route to Israel, who used Vienna as a way station.

Last week, with a single decision, Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky had smudged his country's reputation and thrown it into an international whirl of protest. Until international attention was diverted by large scale fighting between Israel and Arab forces from Egypt and Syria, Kreisky's crisis had provided daily headlines around the world, focusing interest on the difficult question of how the rights of Jews and others can be protected against the schemes of terrorists. Kreisky's dramatic gesture came after three Russian Jews, on a train nearing Vienna and the Jewish Agency's layover facilities at Schönau Castle, had been taken prisoner and hustled to Vienna's airport by two armed Arab fedayeen (TIME, Oct. 8). Kreisky managed to get the captives freed unharmed, but the ransom was high: he announced that he was closing down Schönau. His decision raised consternation. But international criticism could not change Kreisky's mind, nor could Israeli Premier Golda Meir, who rushed from a Council of Europe meeting in

Strasbourg to Vienna to reason with him. Mrs. Meir spent two hours with Kreisky, but in the end the disappointed leader of Israel departed the Austrian Chancellery by a back stairway.

Mass demonstrations were staged throughout Israel and many Western countries by protesting Jews. Arabs, however, were euphoric, and Egypt even sent a Cabinet minister to Vienna to congratulate Kreisky. For Europeans, it had almost come down to a choice between Arab and Jew, and either way, Europe was serving as an arena for the conflict. That hardly made it any choice at all, since most Europeans no doubt rightly felt that they were unjustly ensnared in a blood feud. But Washington officially came down on the side of Israel. President Nixon consoled Kreisky for having to face "a painful decision," then added: "We simply cannot have governments—small or large—give in to international blackmail by terrorist groups."

Natural Target. Austrians, who despite initial dismay eventually rallied to the support of their socialist Chancellor, protested that his action was not a response to terrorism. Rather, they claimed, it was an administrative decision in which the government actually "suggested" to the kidnapers that it would alter its policy in exchange for the lives of the hostages. It was made because Austria, as one government official explained it, "was gradually becoming a battleground" in the continuing Israeli-Arab conflict. Jerusalem's Vienna-born Mayor Teddy Kollek protested



SOVIET JEWS ARRIVING IN VIENNA FROM RUSSIA (LEFT) & MOVING THROUGH SCHÖNAU PROCESSING CENTER & ON TO ISRAEL



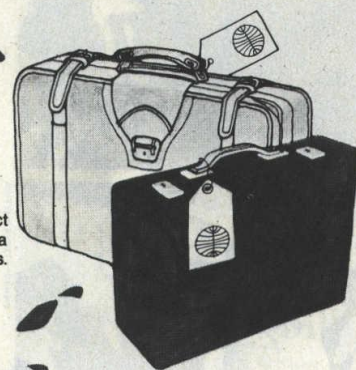
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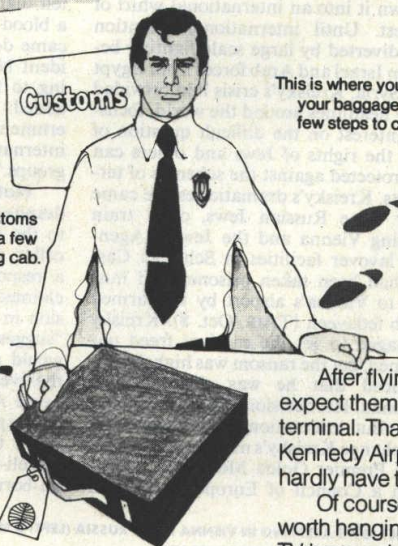
When you pay to fly you shouldn't have to walk.



Pan Am lands here. A few steps and a short escalator ride takes you to immigration control and your baggage.



This is where you collect your baggage. Take a few steps to customs.



Customs

There are 36 customs points. Move on a few steps to a waiting cab.

Your cab is waiting, sir!



After flying someone thousands of miles you can hardly expect them to walk another one just to get through the terminal. That's why when we built our own new terminal at Kennedy Airport, New York, it was designed so you'd hardly have to walk at all.

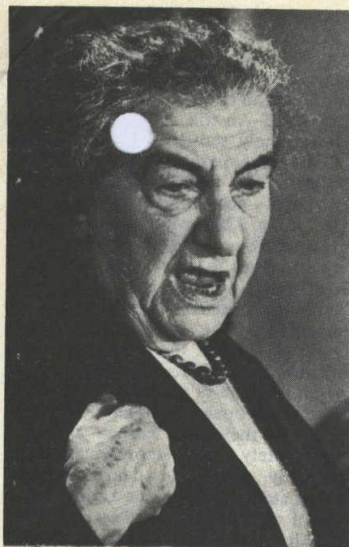
Of course, if you've got some time on your hands, it's worth hanging around for a bit. You can buy a book, watch TV, have a shower, eat French, Mexican, Spanish or Mediterranean food, or have drinks in a couple of bars.

And when you come back, it's all exactly the same, except the other way round! Now you can get from your car to the plane in no time.

If, on the other hand, when you land at our new terminal, you want to go somewhere completely different, you can by walking a few steps. Allegheny now flies from our terminal. When you get through Pan Am's customs, Allegheny's departure gates are right there. So you can now fly on to the north-eastern and central parts of the USA by walking only a few steps.

Call your travel agent, and fly the world's most experienced airline next time.

The world's most experienced airline  **PAN AM**



ISRAELI PREMIER GOLDA MEIR
Leaving by the back stairs.

in a telegram to Kreisky: "Anyone who applies different standards to Jews than those he applies to others stands accused of anti-Semitism, whatever his origin." But the Chancellor, a nonpracticing Jew, denied that his action was discriminatory. He pointed out that the Schönau facility was allowed to exist as a special favor to Israel so that Soviet Jewish emigrants could be processed in an orderly—and secure—manner on Austrian soil. For the Austrians, the facility was a troublesome presence. It had to be guarded by a force of 150 Austrian police with dogs. Every train from the east

or El Al jet from Israel had to be protected. Before long, the Austrians feared, an incident might occur similar to last year's Munich massacre. The solution was to close the center that was a natural mass target for Arab terror.

The Austrian oversight, however, was that neither Kreisky nor others who favored closing Schönau fully recognized the symbolism involved. Said an Austrian diplomat last week: "We did not realize the emotional importance of Schönau for Israel and therefore for the Arabs."

Arab Blackmail. Though Kreisky remained firm on his insistence that Schönau must close, it began to appear that his promise to the terrorists to ban "group travel" was all but meaningless. "We shall continue to allow the transit of Russian Jews as we have done before," he said, "but we shall keep the time allowed in Austria as short as possible. Under normal circumstances, the stay in Austria will be limited to one night." This represented a clear retreat from his initial position, which he had described as "genuine transit, without stopovers." His new position in effect will allow Russian Jews to travel freely through Austria, denying them only the sanctuary of Schönau. Ultimately, that may cause the Austrians even greater problems, since the emigrants without the protecting walls of Schönau will be more exposed than ever to reprisal attacks by terrorists.

Israel was concerned not so much with the closing of the Schönau camp as with the fact that the terrorists had extracted the pledge at the point of a gun. If other governments followed suit, Israel would soon be vulnerable to Arab blackmail that could severely limit its in-



AUSTRIA'S BRUNO KREISKY
Adamant after two hours.

ternational relations. The specter arose of governments bowing to the most outrageous terrorist demands, such as refusing landing rights to Israeli jetliners or the cutting off of trade.

Arab satisfaction was at such a peak, in fact, that considerable publicity and credence was initially given to a statement supposedly issued by the group claiming responsibility for the Austrian operation. It warned the "friendly Soviet Union that its embassies and interests in the Middle East and the world will be a target for the strikes of our guerrillas, unless it stops emigrant op-

The Chancellor Stumbles at the Hurdle

Though born a Jew in Vienna 62 years ago, throughout most of his life urbane Bruno Kreisky has sought to sunder all links to Judaism. At an early age he declared himself an agnostic. His wife is a Protestant, and he had his two children baptized as Protestants. He bristles when he is referred to as a Jew, preferring to be called "of Jewish origin."

Yet as a politician in race-and-religion-conscious Central Europe, Kreisky could hardly avoid being regarded as a Jew. During his successful campaign for Chancellor three years ago, the rightist People's Party printed anti-Kreisky posters urging the electorate to vote for a "genuine Austrian." Experts like University of Wisconsin Historian George L. Mosse, who contend that Austria remains "unreconstructedly anti-Semitic," wonder if Kreisky acceded to the terrorists' demands partly to prove how genuinely Austrian he is.

Whatever his motivation, Kreisky's action was the most controversial of a long political career that had previously

been marked by such studied caution that it won him the reputation of being Austria's most astute politician. Despite his background as the son of a wealthy industrialist, Kreisky joined the socialist movement at age 15. After the Nazis annexed Austria in 1938, he fled to Sweden. Thirteen years passed before he returned home. First as a diplomat and then as Foreign Minister (1959-66), Kreisky deftly helped steer Austria on the course of political neutrality.

Although his office is filled with ceremonial symbols of Austria's imperial past, Kreisky has been a most unregal Chancellor. He freely mingles with the public without a bodyguard, writes innumerable thank-you notes, and waits his turn in line for the ski lift when on vacation. He also hobnobs with Vienna's most brilliant intellectuals and artists. The ease with which he mixes with all strata of Austrians has made him his country's most popular postwar Chancellor, so much so that a Kreisky-souvenir industry has blossomed—com-

plete with Kreisky piggy banks, T shirts and clothes hangers. A bestseller is a wall poster depicting the Chancellor in a superman costume leaping over all sorts of political hurdles.

His handling of the terrorists, however, is one hurdle he has not cleared. The unexpected criticism he has drawn from Austrian intellectuals and from abroad has made him unusually defensive. "No one can criticize my decision," he told TIME Correspondent Christopher Byron. "No one but I was in the situation and no one else had to live with the consequences. To permit the hostages to leave the country would have meant certain death, and I was willing to do everything to get them released."

He insists that "I would do it again if the identical situation arose." But his friends wonder. Under the week's pressures, Kreisky has lost his cool and become noticeably irritable. He is usually a deft performer at press conferences, but last week he blew up when a Dutch journalist asked him, "Are you a Jew?" The testy Chancellor flared back: "It's none of your business!"

TIME, OCTOBER 15, 1973

19

Schönau: The Camp That Became a Cause

The House that Chancellor Bruno Kreisky is so determined to close down is a rambling, white stucco manor set amid old oaks and willows in the village of Schönau, some 20 miles south of Vienna. Built by a Habsburg duke on the foundations of a 12th century castle, Schönau camp has at various times served as a parish house, a hunting lodge and, toward the end of World War II, as a military headquarters for Joseph Stalin's Red Army occupation forces in Austria. Since 1964, when the Jewish Agency signed a 20-year lease on the property, it

WILLIAM KAREL—GAMMA



EMIGRANTS OUTSIDE SCHÖNAU CASTLE

has been the major transit point for Jews leaving the Soviet bloc countries en route to new homes in Israel. TIME Correspondent Christopher Byron visited the camp last week and reported:

At first sight, the camp, with its double-hinged metal gates, is a shocker. In order to make Schönau what it is supposed to be—a safe resting place and processing center for emigrating Jews—the Jewish Agency has been compelled to ring it with so much barbed wire and so many guards that it is grimly reminiscent of Dachau, the Nazi con-

centration camp. Steel-helmeted Austrian police armed with automatic weapons are on patrol, and Israeli plainclothesmen are everywhere—constantly on the lookout for terrorists who might try to infiltrate the camp. It is easier, in fact, for a stranger to get into Chancellor Kreisky's private office than to get into Schönau.

Yet once inside the camp, the military atmosphere vanishes almost completely. A dense, overgrown wood screens the compound buildings from the barbed-wire perimeters and the guards. Inside the main building, the overwhelming impression is more of noise and movement than of fear. Children swarm the place, shrieking, chasing friends up and down hallways, running from their parents, and otherwise enjoying "freedom" in a fashion that their self-conscious elders have long since outgrown.

Signs of impermanence and transience abound. Five men sit in one corner of the main hall studying the first map of Israel that they have ever seen. They have been in the camp for one hour. By the same time tomorrow the men will be on an El Al flight to a country that now they know only as lines and unfamiliar names on a printed page. Engrossed in impassioned debate over the relative merits of towns they have never seen, they seem oblivious to the enormous drama that is unfolding around them. So too does a young girl near by. She is leaning from a hallway window, waving a blouse in the late-morning breeze. She arrived yesterday, and last night, for the first time in weeks, she washed her clothes. This morning the clothes were still wet. Now she must dry them by hand in the sun or pack them still damp. She leaves in two hours.

Even as some prepare for departure, others arrive. Shortly after 1 p.m. a bus pulls up at the front door of the manor house to disgorge yet another huddle of émigrés. The first person off is a frail, elderly woman who has to be helped into a waiting wheelchair. She is followed by two small girls, neither of them more than ten years old. They promptly stop, turn around, wait. Then a large, barrel-chested young man, who is evidently their older brother, steps from the bus. The two children go to him, and the trio disappears through the front door of the house, the children clinging determinedly to the young man's arms.

They may be among the last emigrants to pass through the Schönau manor. If Chancellor Kreisky has his way, the Austrian guards who had been posted outside the barbed wire to defend the place against Arab terrorists would soon be locking the gates against the emigrating Jews.

erations to Israel." Arab spokesmen later claimed the statement was a hoax.

Whatever its validity, the Soviets ignored the warning, just as they have remained all but totally silent on the entire Israel-Austria imbroglio. Moscow is extremely sensitive to the question of Jewish emigration, which—though it has totaled 70,000 Jews in the past two years—goes unpublicized in the Soviet Union. The Soviets are under heavy pressure from the U.S. and other Western countries to allow more and more Jews to leave, while they are under a counterpressure from Arabs to stop the emigration. The fact is that no one could claim that the Soviet treatment of Jews is on Nazi Germany's inhumane level. Jews represent only 1% of the Soviet population of nearly 250 million, but they have earned a disproportionately high representation in scholarly, scientific and artistic fields. Soviet statistics show, for example, that 7% of all scientific workers are Jews. Yet Jews in many ways are second-class citizens in Russia. No works in Hebrew are permitted to be published, nor are any books in any language published there about Jewish history or culture. Zionism is considered a treasonable crime. When some Jews began to agitate for permission to emigrate to Israel—a phenomenon that arose after Israel's spectacular victory in the Six-Day War—Soviet authorities brought down a harsh campaign of suspicion and discrimination against all Soviet Jews, with the effect that more and more Jews demanded today the right to emigrate.

Special Status. The result is that today Jews are widely distrusted in Russia, and yet they enjoy a special status: they now are the only group within the Soviet Union to be given the option of emigrating. In the past two years, more Soviet Jews have left Russia than have all other Soviet citizens in the past 40 years. As recently as 1969, only a trickle of emigrating Jews reached Israel; this year 35,000 are expected to settle there.

Arab nations complain to Moscow that the Soviet Jews contribute mightily to Israel's strength. In general, Moscow counters Arab arguments by saying that the numbers involved are relatively small, that the emigrants are of limited skills and that many more Jews have emigrated to Israel from Arab lands than from the U.S.S.R.

From their viewpoint, the Arabs have a good argument. In the 18 months since January 1972, the new Russian arrivals included 1,807 engineers, 879 physicians, 832 teachers, 324 musicians, 299 economists, and a scattering of mathematicians, physicists, chemists and biologists. This is largesse on an unprecedented scale: most Israelis agree that no other mass immigration group has contributed so much to the nation. Some of the Russians have settled on territory Israel won in the Six-Day War, which has further angered Arabs. Per-



Soviet Jews arriving in Vienna: 'We want the emigrants to leave Austria as fast as possible'

Austria Raises a Stop Sign

Even before last week's outbreak of battle, the Israeli Government was operating on an emergency footing. Enraged by Austria's decision to give in to Arab terrorists and close transit facilities used by Soviet Jewish emigrants bound for Israel, Prime Minister Golda Meir huddled with her Cabinet, then flew off to Vienna for a confrontation with Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. But if Mrs. Meir hoped that she could appeal to Kreisky as a fellow socialist (which he is) and a Jew (which he is by birth though not religion), she was sorely disappointed. The Chancellor's uncompromising attitude was reflected in the police code word chosen for Golda's visit—*Schinken-schmelz* (ham sandwich). And far from obtaining concessions, Mrs. Meir stormed out of Kreisky's office after two acrimonious hours, complaining: "He didn't even offer me a glass of water."

What really upset Mrs. Meir and many other world leaders was the precedent Kreisky set in knuckling under to the demands of terrorists. To secure the release of four hostages, Kreisky voluntarily promised the two Arab commandos that he would close Schönau Castle, the Jewish Agency facility in Vienna which has been used as a halfway house for more than 70,000 Soviet Jews bound for Israel (page 15). "This is the first time," Mrs. Meir angrily told a political rally, "that an entire nation has ever surrendered to Kalashnikov rifles." President Richard Nixon joined the chorus of world leaders urging Kreisky to reverse his decision. "We simply cannot," the President said, "have governments, small or large, give in to international blackmail by terrorist groups."

Kreisky's response to all this was a

round of virtuoso press conferences in which he caustically defended himself. To those who argued that he should have stalled in order to break down the terrorists, he answered by quoting two psychiatrists who talked with the Arabs and concluded that the kidnapers were "deadly determined" to carry out their threat to kill the hostages. "The argument of the Israelis that the Arabs have never yet blown up themselves together with their hostages," Kreisky said, "smacks of racial superiority and is false. My foremost responsibility was to save human lives." And the Chancellor accused his foreign critics of outright hypocrisy. "Not one of the governments which are now all excited said that they would carry part of the load which we have carried for years," he declared. "Why do we have to run all the risks?"

Barrage: While Kreisky's decision to close Schönau drew heavy fire from the West, his countrymen rallied to his side. A public opinion poll last week showed that 79 per cent of the Austrians interviewed back Kreisky's move, while only 9 per cent thought he was wrong. That must have been good news to the Chancellor, whose party faces two tough provincial elections next week. Indeed, some politicians in Vienna predicted that the foreign attacks on Kreisky—and the not-so-veiled charges of Austrian anti-Semitism—would gain the Chancellor a large sympathy vote among his proudly nationalistic countrymen. In any case, Kreisky seemed to relish the opportunity to meet the barrage of criticism head on. "I don't accept the Israeli working proposition which tries to make us somehow co-responsible for the death of Jews under Hitler," he said. "The idea that

Austria is somehow obligated to favor the Jews is to me unacceptable."

Embattled Israelis were bitter. "We all know what Kreisky is," a senior Israeli official said last week, "an uneasy Jew, especially uneasy as a Jewish politician who made it to the top in a country with a long history of vicious anti-Semitism." But Israelis were equally bitter over the fact that for all their efforts to combat terrorism, Kreisky had handed the Palestinian commando movement its first "political victory."

The boost for the Palestinian guerrillas could not have come at a more crucial time, for the commando movement in recent weeks had appeared to be on its last legs. A series of bungled operations had drawn angry criticism from a number of Arab governments, and this in turn further demoralized the fedayeen and threatened to split what was left of the commando movement. Then suddenly, a pair of gunmen calling themselves members of the "Eagles of the Palestine Revolution" seized a train bringing Jewish emigrants to Austria and extracted Kreisky's concession. Even Jordan's usually bitterly anti-guerrilla newspapers hailed the coup. And the taste of victory grew sweeter as Israel's pressure campaign failed to reverse it.

Despite Kreisky's decision, the flow of Soviet Jews through Vienna continued last week unabated—and the Austrian leader emphasized that he never intended to stop their transit. "All we've promised is to close down the camp at Schönau," he said. "And we want the emigrants to leave Austria as fast as possible—preferably the same day they arrive." The closing of Schönau will create major logistics problems. The Soviets never provide advance notice of how many Jews will be allowed to leave on a given day. Some days, 150 or more arrive; other days, as few as 30. "How

But the strategic realities in the Middle East had changed too. Thanks to Soviet aid shipments, the Egyptians have a sizable armada of SAM anti-aircraft missiles that could make long-range Israeli air strikes far more costly than before. Similarly, the Israelis have used the cease-fire to build up their Sinai defense forces. As a result, the Israeli command concluded that it could afford to let advancing Egyptian soldiers cross the canal, brush past Israeli listening posts and sensors—and eventually fall into the military's main defense network to be pounced on by Israeli armored units, aircraft and infantry.

'Damned Fine Soldiers'

On paper, the Arabs seemed strong enough to give the Israelis a real battle. Taken together, the Syrians and Egyptians have nearly 450,000 men under arms compared to Israel's 300,000 troops; and some 900 combat planes versus 500 for Israel. But quality is another matter. The Arabs lack the training to operate their sophisticated weapons effectively, and their leadership in the field is weak. "I can't imagine what they are thinking about," one Pentagon official told *NEWSWEEK*'s Lloyd Norman. "The Israelis have just about the best air force in the world, and they are damned fine soldiers. The Arabs just cannot win anything this way—no way."

By the second day, the developments in the field seemed to bear that out. Although the Egyptians continued their moves across the canal and even dropped some commando units behind Israeli lines, the Israelis set in motion a methodical counterattack, striking deep into Egypt to weaken Cairo's air force and mobilizing armored units to counter the Arab thrust in the Sinai. In the early stages of the fighting, reliable sources in Jerusalem reported that five or six Arab aircraft were being downed for every Israeli plane lost. As their mobilization continued, the Israelis knocked out most of the Egyptian bridges along the canal and trapped some 400 Arab tanks near the waterway. At the same time, the Israelis poised for a full-scale ground battle in the Sinai. "You will prevent the Arabs from [gaining a foothold]," Maj. Gen. Avraham Mandler, the commander of Israeli forces there, instructed his troops. "Our armor, air force and artillery will grind them small."

Despite the slowly turning tide of battle, the Egyptians and the Syrians were putting up a much stronger fight than anyone had expected. For their efforts, they received the quick—and surprisingly strong—support of other Arab states. Libya, Jordan and Tunisia, among others, pledged their aid. Iraq reportedly sent a squadron of aircraft to Egypt to help in the fighting, and Baghdad nationalized the holdings of two American oil companies operating on its soil in retaliation for U.S. support of Israel. Saudi Arabia's Faisal also weighed in with a warning. "If the U.S. does not stop Israel

from pursuing its aggression, the Middle East . . . will explode," he declared. "This explosion will not be limited but will be transformed into a world war."

No one could divine the Arabs' motivation for sure. One theory had it that Syria, long one of the most radical of all the Arab states, precipitated the strike. According to this scenario, Damascus was so humiliated by Israel's destruction of thirteen Syrian planes in a dogfight over the Mediterranean last month that it forced Sadat to live up to his earlier proclamations about the "inevitable" battle with the Israelis (box, page 12).

A much more likely explanation was that Egypt's Sadat was playing a daring political game in order to refocus the attention of the world on the Middle East. As some experts saw it, the Egyptian leader's strategy was to launch a limited invasion of the Israeli-occupied territories—and then hold on as long as

to accept a military drubbing in order to weld Arab solidarity and step up pressure for an imposed international settlement."

There may also have been an element of desperation in the Arab move. Asked if the Arabs could win, Egyptian Foreign Minister Mohammed Hassan el Zayyat said: "Frankly, no. But you don't struggle because you are assured of success. You struggle because you are right."

Throughout the weekend, U.N. delegates huddled feverishly in New York to decide what to do about the crisis. But their options were limited. Both sides in the conflict did not want a cease-fire resolution just yet—the Arabs were still hoping to consolidate their gains, and the Israelis vowed not to stop fighting until the Arab attackers had been driven out of Sinai and the Golan Heights.

Only the superpowers, in fact, seemed to have a chance of forcing an end to the fighting. And they were clearly unwilling



1967: Burned-out Egyptian armor in the Sinai

possible. Not only would the military threat add an extra dimension and sense of urgency to the oil squeeze, but if Sadat's forces could hold part of the occupied lands until the U.N. or the superpowers could impose a cease-fire, then the Arabs would have scored a partial military victory—and an immense psychological one.

An Element of Desperation

The evidence seemed to support that theory. In timing the attack to coincide with Yom Kippur, the Egyptians clearly gained an initial advantage—and precious time to establish a foothold. And in eliciting the instantaneous declarations of support from the Arab oil states, Cairo had managed to link the oil gambit with the fighting. Sadat himself had hinted at his strategy in the past. In his talk last spring with *NEWSWEEK*'s Senior Editor Arnaud de Borchgrave, he recalled the Tet offensive in Vietnam, saying that while the Communists had lost thousands of men and had suffered a military defeat, they had scored a decisive political and diplomatic victory. "It may be," reported de Borchgrave, "that Sadat is now willing

ing to try. In an apparent effort not to get involved, the Soviets pulled most Russian dependents out of Syria before the fighting began. And both the U.S. and the Soviets apparently issued orders to their fleets in the Mediterranean to avoid any provocative acts.

It seemed unlikely that the superpowers would become involved directly—détente had apparently gone too far for that. But it seemed equally improbable that the fighting had brought any fresh hope to the Arab cause. In recent months, the diplomatic momentum had been flowing their way. The oil squeeze had given them new leverage in dealing with the U.S. And before last week, they could look forward to fresh initiatives toward a "balanced" peace from Henry Kissinger. In the wake of the Arab attacks, Washington hardly seemed in a position to put much pressure on Israel. At the very least, the timetable for peace in the Middle East had been drastically delayed. And with the renewal of fighting, the hatreds, fears and suspicions that have infected the Arab-Israeli conflict from its beginnings had flared violently to the surface once again.

do you know how many planes you should have waiting?" Kenneth Summers, a veteran refugee administrator, asked last week. "And what if you have a load of 100 emigrants and the plane cannot take off because of mechanical failure? You just cannot move this many people without having some shelter where they can spend the night."

More than 60,000 Soviet Jews have passed through Schönau since the most recent *aliyah* (immigration to Israel) began in March 1971, and two weeks ago the number reaching Israel in a single week hit 1,000 for the first time. But a Jewish engineer in Moscow cautioned last week, "Don't get the idea that a landslide to emigrate is under way. Ninety per cent of the 3 million Jews in the

Soviet Union are staying put—and probably most of them like it here." Would-be emigrants are invariably deprived of their jobs, subjected to official harassment and sometimes jailed. And some are not allowed even to leave. A Jew who does succeed in obtaining the prized exit visa usually emigrates to Israel with the clothes on his back and a few cheap possessions. At best, he can take with him no more than \$140, one gold ring and one gold watch. When Kirill Khenkin, a 57-year-old journalist, emigrated last week, authorities administered an enema to his dog looking for contraband.

With so many barriers already in their way, the closing of Schönau was unlikely to prove an insurmountable obstacle to the emigrants. And though the future of

the emigration is clouded by a new wave of Arab terrorist threats (including a heady warning to Moscow to bar Jewish emigration or face attacks on its embassies), Austria seems eager to find some compromise. Kreisky told NEWSWEEK's Milan J. Kubic he would be willing to see Schönau stay open if some organization like the International Red Cross would operate it "for all emigrants—although there are no other [than Soviet Jews]—so that the castle is not a facility of a specific country." Israel also seemed anxious to find a formula to keep the Soviet Jews coming. "You must remember how Golda feels about immigration—especially about the immigration from Russia," an Israeli official said. "The Russian Jews are her children—all of them."

Schönau: The Halfway Castle

When Yuri Levich, a Leningrad screenwriter, arrived at Schönau Castle earlier this year, he was far from impressed with its appearance. "It was not exactly the Hilton," he recalls. "In fact, it was more like a barracks." But to the overwhelming majority of the 72,000 Soviet Jews who have passed through the transit camp on their way to Israel in the past nine years, the gloomy, rambling structure outside Vienna has been like a fairy-tale castle on the road to the promised land.

That wasn't exactly what Archduke Otto von Hapsburg had in mind when he built Schönau Castle at the turn of the century. The archduke intended it as a hideaway where the Austrian nobility could hunt in the morning and dally with their mistresses at night. But since then, the castle has changed hands many times. The current owner is a plump 57-year-old heiress named Alexandrine Happack. She rents it to a Dutch entrepreneur named August van Hoolwerff, who in turn leases it to the Jewish Agency. As the Zionist organization chiefly responsible for coordinating the flow of immigrants into Israel, the agency—with the consent of the Austrian Government—has been operating the castle as a halfway house for the swelling tide of Jews who are choosing to leave the Soviet Union and have been fortunate enough to get exit visas.

When the weary emigrants arrive in Vienna, usually after 48 hours aboard the grimy Chopin Express, they are met at the train station by representatives of the Jewish Agency, welcomed with a Hebrew "shalom" and whisked off to Schönau aboard swift Mercedes-Benz buses. At the ap-



Schönau Castle: Not exactly the Hilton, but plenty of noodle soup

proaches to the castle, they must pass through a cordon of Austrian police, which now includes a crack 80-man border-police unit known as "Scorpion" whose members wield submachine guns. Other security precautions include a barbed-wire-topped fence and, at night, neon lights that illuminate the grounds around the castle.

Films: Inside, the emigrants are given physical checkups and learn about life in Israel through films and lectures. They are taught Israeli songs and Israeli dances. And, after the ordeal of pulling up their roots in the Soviet Union, they are treated by the Jewish Agency staff with as much cordiality as possible. "We were given a wonderful dinner that included noodle soup, chicken and wine," says an emigrant who passed through Schönau Castle earlier this year. "There was a synagogue for those who wanted to go, and many of the Georgian and Bukharan Jews went. We were allowed to telephone anywhere we wanted—Israel, Soviet Union, the United States."

Not all the emigrants choose to go to Israel. Since emigration to Israel is the only way to get exit visas from the Soviet Union, some of the Soviet Jews say they want to go to Israel and then, at Schönau, make clear their real destination is elsewhere. "They tried to dissuade me," said one Soviet Jew now in the U.S. "But they did not try to pressure me—they were very proper about it. And no matter where I go—the United States, the moon, or anywhere—my heart will always be in Israel."

After a few days at Schönau, the emigrants repack their cardboard suitcases and climb back aboard the bus bound for Schwechat Airport. It is an emotional moment. Some of the Jews sing or pray as they board the waiting El Al airliners. In their minds, they are going home. "The emigration will continue whether we have the castle or not," said one determined Jewish Agency official last week. "Jews have been coming to Israel despite all sorts of hardship, and they are not about to quit if Schönau is closed down."

WORLD AFFAIRS

SOUTH AFRICA:

Great White Hope

Every weekend in movie houses across South Africa, thousands of white kids munch nervously on their popcorn as they watch black guerrillas, led by Chinese military advisers, ambush a border patrol. One truckload of police is blown sky-high by a mine, a second is captured—and the terrorists threaten to kill their white hostages unless South Africa frees all its black political prisoners. As tension builds to a crescendo, the announcer intones: "This is a job for Captain Capri." With that, the young audience erupts in stomping feet and cheers. Captain Capri dons his bush hat and, with three trusty sidekicks, sets off across the *veldt* to the rescue. Guns blaze, grenades explode, Africans curse, Chinese scream—and when the smoke clears, the terrorists have all been killed and the border police saved. Once again, the great white hope has triumphed over *die swart gevaar* (the black danger) and *die geel bedreiging* (the yellow peril).

Concern: Despite its limited potential audience (the country's 17.7 million non-whites are not allowed to see films on racial violence), "Captain Capri" has surged past "The Godfather" to become one of South Africa's all-time box-office hits. As of last week, more than 600,000 South Africans (almost one white in six) had jammed into theaters to cheer actor Willem Seale, who plays the bush-whacking James Bond. The picture's immense popularity clearly reflects the mounting concern among South Africa's white minority over the upsurge in black nationalist guerrilla activity along the country's borders. The hero takes his name from the Capri Strip—a finger of South African territory jutting into Zam-

bia, Botswana and Rhodesia which has borne the brunt of guerrilla raids.

But while Captain Capri has become the new hero of the ruling Afrikaners, some English-speaking whites have found the overdrawn racial stereotypes too much to swallow. Film critic Peter Reynolds, said he would not have even reviewed the film if the Afrikaans-language press had not been hailing director Albertus Venter as a "find." "In my view," said Reynolds, "he should be lost again as soon as possible."

Venter himself cheerfully admits that his film is "bloody awful." But the Pretoria government seems to like the series nonetheless. When the new Captain Capri film, "Onslaught on Kariba," premieres this month, Prime Minister John Vorster will be guest of honor.

CHILE:

The Exiles

The monastery at Padre Hurtado, a small village on the outskirts of Santiago, was once a place for solitary, spiritual retreat. But last week, the large, rambling structure served a far different purpose as political refugees, caught in the turmoil that has swept across Chile in the wake of the military take-over there, flocked to the monastery for sanctuary. Most of them were Bolivians, Argentines and Uruguayans, and all of them were deeply frightened. For although the Chilean junta had agreed to treat Padre Hurtado and fourteen other centers as "safe havens" for pro-Allende foreign exiles, no one was certain that the military would honor its word.

When the generals toppled the Marxist government of Salvador Allende last month, there were some 13,000 foreigners in Chile, many of them leftist exiles

from other Latin American countries. But since then the right-wing junta has carried out a program of purges, arrests and executions (NEWSWEEK Oct. 8). It has also mounted a press, television and leaflet campaign against foreign extremists who have come to kill Chileans.* As a consequence, thousands of foreigners have joined native Allendists in taking refuge in the embassies of Santiago and in the "safe havens" established by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the Catholic Church and the International Red Cross.

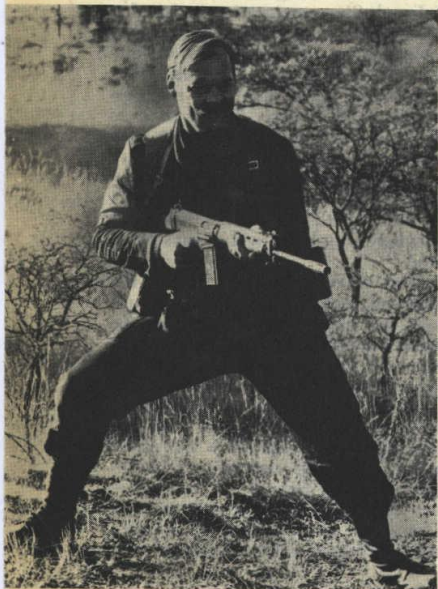
Some envoys, notably Sweden's Harald Edelstam, have done their best to help. (It was not the first time that Edelstam had helped exiles in distress; during World War II he won the sobriquet "the Black Pimpernel" for smuggling Nazi victims out of Norway.) By contrast, both the U.S. and Communist China have turned all exiles away from their embassy doors.*

Conditions inside the embassies harboring most of the refugees—Mexico, Argentina, Panama and Venezuela—are spartan at best. In the Panamanian Embassy, 260 people have crowded into three rooms and share a single toilet. At one point, the Argentine Embassy held more than 500 people including 100 children; since mattresses were scarce, the refugees had to sleep in shifts. In all the involved embassies, infectious diseases are a potential problem, and in the Panamanian Embassy there has been at least one case of typhus.

Pressure: As the plight of the refugees becomes more apparent, international pressures have been brought to bear on the junta. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger reportedly sent a note to American Ambassador Nathaniel Davies instructing him to inform the junta that it would be in its own best interests to take a more humanitarian line with the refugees. And both the Catholic Church and the U.N. put pressure on the Chilean regime. As a result, several hundred foreign refugees have been given permission to leave Chile, and the junta agreed last week to guarantee the protection of those refugees who manage to get into the "safe havens."

Still, the refugees who have flocked to the havens are far from safe. "We are better off here than on the streets," said a Brazilian at the Padre Hurtado sanctuary last week, but he pointed out that the agreement establishing the centers allows the junta to remove anyone accused of a crime—a charge easy enough to arrange if the authorities wish to do so. And what is more, there is no guarantee that the witch-hunting *carabineros*, many of whom are anxious to settle scores with the foreign leftists, might not decide to invade the sanctuaries. "What we need," said one refugee at Padre Hurtado, "is U.N. guards."

*Washington's traditional attitude is that American citizens are accountable under the laws of the country in which they reside and are therefore not eligible for asylum in U.S. embassies.



16



Captain Capri in action:
Fighting 'die swart gevaar'

Newsweek, October 15, 1973

file 201-4-2-128
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[illegible]

Professor Benjamin Levitch, a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences (left), and his family—his wife Tanya, with their two sons, Sasha and Yevgeny (right). They applied for visas to Israel, were dismised from their jobs, Yevgeny was picked up off a Moscow street, and sent to Siberia.

3

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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CJH5

FROM

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
THE HAGUE

I.112280



1403 RESTRICTED

ADDRESSED CANBERRA 1403 REPEATED VIENNA OP551
TEL AVIV OP552 MOSCOW OP553

RECEPTION FACILITIES IN EUROPE FOR JEWISH EMIGRANTS FROM USSR

NETHERLANDS FOREIGN MINISTRY, ON 3 OCTOBER 1973, ISSUED
A COMMUNIQUE STATING THAT REPORTS OF AN OFFER BY THE
NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE RECEPTION FACILITIES FOR
JEWISH EMIGRANTS FROM THE USSR WERE "PREMATURE".

2. FULL TEXT OF THE COMMUNIQUE FOLLOWS:

"THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT HAS READ THE PRESS REPORTS ON
THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE ISRAELI PREMIER AND IS GRATEFUL FOR
THE WORDS OF PRAISE SPOKEN BY MRS MEIR ABOUT THIS COUNTRY
AND THE ACTIVITIES OF THE NETHERLANDS EMBASSY IN THE SOVIET
UNION. HE (THE SPOKESMAN OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY) POINTS
OUT IN THIS CONNECTION THAT REPORTS OF A CONCRETE OFFER FROM
THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT ARE PREMATURE. HE REITERATED A
STATEMENT MADE ON MONDAY THAT AUSTRIA HAD PROMISED TO SUPPLY
FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESULTS OF A STUDY ON CHANGES
IN THE ORGANISATION OF RECEPTION FACILITIES. THE
NETHERLANDS IS AWAITING THIS INFORMATION BEFORE ADOPTING
A STANDPOINT."

DEPT. OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
RECEIVED
OCT 10 1973
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file 201-4-2

.../2



EMBASSY OF AUSTRALIA

IN REPLY QUOTE: 221/9/8



Memorandum No. 2172/73

23rd July, 1973

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA

USSR - Emigration of Jews

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Attached for your information is a press cutting from the "New York Times" of 21 July, 1973 which reported that Dr Kissinger met privately with three leaders of American Jewish organisations on 20 July on the subject of Jewish emigration from the USSR.

2. According to the report, Dr Kissinger stated that Mr Brezhnev had assured President Nixon during the recent Summit meeting that certain Jews who had had difficulty in securing USSR exit visas would soon be allowed to emigrate to Israel. Dr Kissinger was also reported to have passed on a detailed statement on the cases which the USSR had provided during the Brezhnev visit.

3. A copy of this memorandum with attachment has been sent to Moscow and Tel Aviv.

(M.W. Hughes)
First Secretary

The Australian Embassy, MOSCOW (Memorandum No. 86/73)
The Australian Embassy, TEL AVIV (Memorandum No. OP.963/73)

For your information.

egle
Mr Boyer (P)
M.W. Hughes
(M.W. Hughes)
First Secretary

201.4.2

BREZHNEV PLEDGE ON JEWISHERS REPORTED

Kissinger Tells 3 Heads of
U.S. Groups That Soviet
Plans to Let Many Out

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 20 —

Henry A. Kissinger told three prominent Jewish leaders last night that Leonid I. Brezhnev had assured President Nixon that a large number of Soviet Jews who had repeatedly been denied permission to leave the Soviet Union would soon be allowed to emigrate to Israel.

Participants in the White House meeting, which was not announced in advance, said that Mr. Kissinger, Mr. Nixon's adviser on national security, stressed his own personal belief that the Soviet leadership was now moving to accommodate the concerns of the United States over the problems faced by Soviet Jews.

Mr. Kissinger met for an hour with Richard Maas, chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry; Max M. Fisher,

Continued on Page 9, Column 3

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

past president of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, and Jacob Stein, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

According to one participant, Mr. Kissinger produced a written breakdown supplied by Mr. Brezhnev, the Communist party leader, on the fate of 738 "hardship" cases — Jews who had repeatedly failed to obtain permission to leave.

Passed on to Brezhnev

That list had been given to Mr. Kissinger by the three Jewish leaders on May 2 and was transmitted by him to Mr. Brezhnev in Moscow when the Presidential adviser was there to arrange the agenda for Mr. Brezhnev's trip to the United States last month.

Mr. Brezhnev himself provided similar figures in a meeting with United States Senators at Blair House on June 19.

Of the 738, the Soviet statement said, 268 had received permission to leave, 30 no longer lived in the Soviet Union, 177 no longer wanted to leave, 80 were being cleared now for permission to leave and 149 were denied permission to leave on security reasons. Thirty-four were unaccounted for. The Soviet said, however, that "additional consideration" was being given to those previously rejected.

Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union has become a sensitive political issue in the United States. Majorities in both houses of Congress have threatened to block Administration efforts to grant tariff concessions to the Soviet Union until Jews and others are permitted to emigrate freely.

As a result of the 1972 trade agreement, the Soviet

Union agreed to repay World War II Lend-Lease debts in return for receiving equal, or nondiscriminatory tariff treatment.

Because of legislation passed during the cold war, the Russians are denied most-favored-nation treatment and as a result certain Soviet products are taxed at a higher tariff rate than similar goods from other countries.

The Administration's trade bill, still before the House Ways and Means Committee, contains provisions allowing the President to extend most-favored-nation treatment to the Soviet Union.

Before the summit meeting last month, some Jewish leaders had expected the dramatic re-

lease of many people on the "hardship" list. When this did not come, there was a wave of criticism from Jewish groups.

A spokesman for the three leaders said that they told Mr. Kissinger of their "disappointment in the lack of visible results so far" in the release of more Soviet Jews.

Jewish organizations said that they knew of only 56 Soviet Jews on the "hardship" list who were given permission to leave. They have been unable to explain the 268 in the Soviet breakdown.

Emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union, as low as 1,000 in 1970, rose to about 13,500 in 1971, to 30,000 last year, and another 30,000 are believed to be emigrating this year.

125

emigration of Soviet Jews Soars

Instigated and supported by imperialism after it was created, the "State of Israel" launched three wars of aggression against the Arab countries — in 1948, 1956 and 1967. These wars resulted in the Israeli Zionists seizing some 70,000 square kilometres of land from Palestine and Arab countries, including Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, Syria's Golan Heights, and the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank of the Jordan River. Israeli aggression caused the displacement of large numbers of Palestinians and forced them to become refugees.

The superpowers, however, still have continued to back and egg on the Israeli aggressors. A steady stream of money and arms pours into Israel from the United States. The Soviet revisionist social-imperialists give Israel one big group after another of manpower, including specialists. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union in 1972 separately issued decrees stipulating that Soviet Jews would be granted exit permits only after they had paid for their education. Under U.S. pressure, however, the Soviet revisionist leading clique not long ago assured the United States that it had suspended collecting this tax from Jews wishing to leave the country, thus speeding up their emigration to Israel in large numbers.

According to the Jewish Agency, 41,898 Soviet Jews arrived in Israel in the first four months of 1973. Another report said a total of 10,330 had immigrated to Israel between 1961 and 1970. There has been a sharp increase, however, since 1971. The total number of Jewish immigrants to Israel last year was 56,000 with 32,000 coming from the Soviet Union. Israeli deputy prime minister Yigal Allon said recently: "More than 50,000 Soviet immigrants have come to Israel during the past two years, and a similar number is expected this year." "Israel might have to absorb up to one million Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union during the next 10 years," he added.

Strong Discontent in Arab World

The Soviet revisionists' action in stepping up the emigration of Jews to Israel has aroused strong discontent and opposition in the Arab world. Mahmoud Khalidi, Director of the Office of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Damascus, pointed out: "There is no difference between the Soviet emigration to Israel and the U.S. supply of munitions and economic aid to Israel." "The supply of manpower by the Soviet Union to Israel has strengthened Israel's expansion abroad," he said.

11

A report in the May 14 Beirut weekly *Al Usbuh* - *Al Arabi* said: "The Soviet Jewish emigrants are being housed in settlements in northern Israel and in the (occupied) Golan Heights." It quoted Israeli politician Ben-Gurion as saying recently: "At present there are no borders for Israel. The Israeli borders will be stipulated when another 6 million Jews have emigrated to Israel." The report pointed out: "This shows that Israel not only has no intention to withdraw from the

occupied Arab lands, but also aims at occupying more Arab lands to meet the increasing numbers of Jewish emigrants."

In a May 6 editorial, the Kuwaiti paper *Daily News* pointed out that the Soviet Union is a more dangerous enemy because, while professing friendship for the Arabs, it has opened its doors to the emigration of a new Jewish army, mostly well-educated and experienced personnel, into occupied Palestine.

CONFIDENTIAL

62



AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, TEL AVIV

123



MEMO NO: 384

FILE NO: 230/42
201/6

21 June 1973

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA

JEWISH EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL FROM THE
SOVIET UNION

In conversation yesterday evening with the Minister for Immigration, Mr Peled, I asked whether Mr Victor Louis, who has been here for the IPI meeting, had had anything of interest to say about policy towards Jews in the Soviet Union and particularly Jewish emigration to Israel. Mr Peled said that Mr Louis had had nothing of substance to say on the subject and had talked only in generalities. He certainly had brought no message nor any specific or worthwhile reassurance. Mr Peled said he believed that Mr Louis had been sent here for the IPI Conference purely for the sake of appearances in connection with Mr Brezhnev's visit to the United States and in the context of the importance of the Soviet Jewish question for that visit. It was as if the Russians were signalling to those in the United States concerned with the Soviet Jewry question that they had contacts with Israel and indeed had their informal go-between there at the moment.

2. Mr Peled said he thought that the representations which Mr Jacob Stein had made to Mr Brezhnev - which had led Mr Stein to express some optimism - were really not very significant and were unlikely to have any particular influence on Soviet policy. The Minister said he thought that the important thing was the direct exposure which Mr Brezhnev was getting to the position of Congressmen and Senators who were working for the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate. Mr Peled said that Mr Brezhnev would have a clear understanding now that progress on some matters of great interest to him in Soviet/United States relations did not depend just on President Nixon. Mr Peled readily conceded that of course Brezhnev must have been well aware of the relevant powers of the Senate, but said that nevertheless the effect

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Mr Lyles.

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122

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of seeing and hearing this with his own eyes and ears would be important. The Minister said that he was fairly confident that there would be some further improvement in Soviet policy on the emigration of Jews and he hoped now that the rate might increase even to as much as 60,000 per year. Mr Peled did not give any explanation of this figure and I did not have an opportunity to ask him for the grounds of his belief in any more precise terms. But he is both expert and cautious in these matters and I doubt if he would have been speaking without some fairly sound basis of advice either from the Americans or from his own sources in Washington.

3. We are sending copies of this memorandum to Moscow and Washington.

(F.R. Dalrymple)
Ambassador

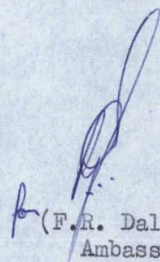
Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW

Memo OP.177

Australian Embassy,
WASHINGTON

Memo OP.178

Copy for information.


(F.R. Dalrymple)
Ambassador

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121

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to arise. Reaction to reports that the Lebanese/fedayeen agreement restricted the areas for raids on Israel produced predictable comment about severe Israeli reactions to any such activity and that Lebanon could not buy domestic peace at Israel's expense.

Soviet and Iraqi Jews

11. The situation of Jews in the USSR and Arab countries has, as usual, been followed closely in Israel. The Jackson Amendment in the United States has all along presented a somewhat delicate situation for the Israeli Government and earlier in the month the Government had to resist pressure from new Soviet immigrants to come out in open support for Senator Jackson against the Administration. Instead official sources "welcomed" the efforts of this "sincere friend". Reports of persecution of Iraq's Jewish community (estimated to be 350-400 strong) have aroused a deep sense of outrage in Israel and produced intensified efforts to marshal Jewish and outside support on behalf of Jews in Arab countries and in the USSR.

Israel/EEC Negotiations

12. Deputy Premier Allon is hopeful that negotiations between Israel and the EEC on a new tariff agreement will begin in June. In a visit to Europe during the month Allon had pressed the urgency of the negotiations pointing out that the current agreement between Israel and the EEC lapses at the end of the year.

Canadian and Thai National Defence College Visits

13. A 26-man delegation from the Canadian National Defence Academy has paid a three day visit to Israel as part of a study tour of the Middle East protagonists. In Israel they were guests of the IDF but also met the political leadership of the country and senior men in industry. Twenty-two students from the Thai National Defence College have also visited Israel during the month.

INTERNAL

Twenty-fifth Anniversary

14. The 25th Anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel was celebrated according to the Jewish calendar on 7 May. The spate of comments and statements, while noting problems to be overcome including those of an internal and social nature as well as external issues, reflected intense pride in Israel's developmental achievements and, on the whole, confidence in the country's future. There was some controversy over the cost and appropriateness of the central feature of Independence Day, the military parade through East and West Jerusalem, but feelings of national solidarity and pride muted this around the time of the celebrations. Jordanian protests were virtually ignored.

Population

15. By its 25th Anniversary Israel's population was estimated to number 3,230,000 of which 2,750,000 were Jews. Since its establishment 1,480,000 immigrants settled in Israel of which about half came from Asia and Africa and the other half from Europe and the Americas.

60
120

Russian Exit Tax Put at \$7 Million Over 8 Months

JERUSALEM, May 29 (Reuters).—Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union to Israel paid \$7 million in exit taxes between last August and March of this year, according to a review published here today.

The Jewish Agency, which deals with immigration, said in the study that 715 academicians were allowed to leave the Soviet Union without paying the education tax on emigrants, but another 1,438 academicians paid on an average the equivalent of \$8,000.

The average monthly earnings of those made to pay the tax before exit visas were granted was the equivalent of about \$275, the report noted.

The review said 5,407 of the 41,898 immigrants from the Soviet Union from January, 1972, to the end of April, 1973, had university degrees.

The newcomers were relatively young, with 25 percent of them under 19 years old.

file 201.4.2.



DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

59
119

CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600



69/2/5/7

Memo. No: 244.

14 May 1973

Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW

EMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS -
BENIAMCU JOSIFOWITZ

Thank you for your memo no. 413 of
28 April 1973 regarding Rabbi Porush's request to
the Prime Minister for assistance in arranging for
the exit of Mr Josifowitz from the U.S.S.R.

..... 2. You may be interested to have on record
the attached letter sent to Rabbi Porush from the
Department.

P. F. Peters
(P.F. Peters)

Head, East Europe Section

Mr Mahoney File

69/2/5/7

9 May 1973

Dear Rabbi Porush,

I am writing again in connection with your letter to the Prime Minister concerning the difficulties which Rabbi Shapira's son is having in obtaining an exit visa from the Soviet Union. In my letter to you of 3 April last, conveying the Prime Minister's acknowledgement, I said that we would write to our Embassy in Moscow to ascertain if there was any way in which we could assist.

We have now had a reply from the Embassy, which confirms our own view that a direct approach by us to the Soviet authorities would be counter-productive, since the authorities would certainly regard such an approach as an unwarranted intrusion into Soviet domestic affairs.


It has been suggested that in the first instance Rabbi Shapira should ascertain whether Mr Josifowitz has been informed as to why he was being denied an exit visa. Has he sent his son an official "Visov" (invitation) to migrate to Israel? It could be that the delay is due to the fact that he is a scientist. He may be obliged by the authorities to abandon this line of work for a certain number of years before being granted an exit visa.

The "Visov" is an essential first step since the concept of family reunion is one of the main factors from the Soviet point of view in granting Soviet citizens the right to emigrate to Israel. Because such letters of official invitation - when they are sent through the open post - are often intercepted before being received by addressees, it is preferable that they be sent by other means from Israel to the Netherlands Embassy in Moscow, which is at present looking after Israeli interests in the Soviet Union. The Netherlands Embassy can usually ensure that a letter is received by those for whom it is intended.

We have been informed that Frunze, where the Josifowitz family lives, is not one of the centres from which Soviet citizens are generally permitted to emigrate. On the other hand, there have been some emigrants from this region and the difficulty which Rabbi Shapira's son is experiencing could be due therefore to administrative delays. If this is so, our Embassy regrets that it has no means of intervening on Mr Josifowitz' behalf.

I hope that this information may be of some help to Rabbi Shapira.

Yours sincerely,


(B.C. Hill)
First Assistant Secretary

Rabbi Dr Israel Porush, O.B.E.,
The Great Synagogue,
166 Castlereagh Street,
SYDNEY. N.S.W. 2000

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413

28 April 1973

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA.

EMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS - BENIAMIN JOSIFOWITZ

(YOUR FILE NO. 69/2/5/7)

Reference is made to your memorandum no. 175 of 3 April 1973.

2. We spoke, as requested, with Lambert D'Ansembourg, head of the Israeli interests section in the Netherlands embassy, informing him of the facts contained in Rabbi Porush's letter to the Prime Minister.

3. D'Ansembourg agreed that a direct approach to the Soviet authorities on behalf of the Australian government could only be counter-productive, as they would certainly regard the matter as an internal one.

4. He remarked that Frunze, where the Josifowitz family lives, is not one of the centres from which Soviet citizens are generally permitted to emigrate, but that on the other hand there had been a small number of precedents of such cases in that city. D'Ansembourg said that it was, however, very often a matter of there simply being insufficient OVIR (the visa-issuing department of the Soviet Ministry of the Interior) officials in a particular city to handle visa applications; such seemed to be the case in Frunze.

5. D'Ansembourg did suggest, however, that the matter was not without hope. One was never certain in the Soviet Union, whether such matters as the withholding of exit visas was in each case a matter of official policy, or simply of administrative and organizational difficulties. He suggested that, in the first instance, Rabbi Shapira should sort out the following questions:

- (a) Has Mr Josifowitz been informed as to why he was being denied an exit visa?
- (b) Has Rabbi Shapira sent his son an official visov (invitation) to migrate to Israel?

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115

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6. The answer to the first question may partly be in the fact that he is a scientist; even so, this does not entirely preclude him from the possibility of emigration, but may simply entail the necessity of his abandoning his present line of work for a certain number of years.

7. The issue of a visov is, of course, an essential first step, since the concept of family reunion is one of the governing factors from the Soviet point of view, of the whole question of granting Soviet citizens the right to emigrate to Israel. D'Ansembourg added that such letters of official invitation, sent to the Soviet Union through the open post, were often intercepted before receipt by the addressees. It was therefore preferable to send such invitations to the Netherlands embassy in Moscow from Israel by other means. The embassy could then generally ensure that they were received by those for whom they were intended. The Netherlands embassy can also have the period of validity of such invitations, namely one year, extended two or three times.

8. It is also possible that Mr Josifowitz has received an invitation from his father, but that nevertheless he has, until now, been refused an exit visa. D'Ansembourg thought that even if this were the case, the Soviet authorities might still, at any time, grant Josifowitz an exit visa.

9. As a final resort, D'Ansembourg said that personal letters from Rabbi Shapira to various (preferably high-ranking) Soviet authorities, appealing to their sympathies in this particular case, might not be without some effect.

Plp

(P.C. Gacs)
Second Secretary

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cc [signature]

WIRELESS BULLETIN

Friday
April 20, 1973



THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA MOSCOW

Washington, April 19 - President Nixon has assured American Jewish leaders that the Soviet Union would not reimpose its emigration tax should Congress accord Moscow most-favored-nation (MFN) tariff treatment.

The President based his assurances, the White House said April 15, on "constructive communications" he has had with the highest levels of Soviet leadership.

White House Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler, telling newsmen of Mr. Nixon's meeting with 16 prominent Jewish Americans, said the President confirmed reports the Soviet Union is exempting citizens permitted to leave the country from the education tax.

A Soviet decree requiring emigrants to reimburse the state for education costs had been attacked by many U.S. Congressmen as "discriminatory" against Soviet Jews wishing to go to Israel.

A proposed amendment to the President's pending trade bill would have the effect of barring the Soviet Union from the same tariff status given most U.S. trading partners while "discriminatory" practices were in effect.

Mr. Nixon considers U.S.-Soviet trade an important factor in the overall effort to reduce world tensions, Mr. Ziegler pointed out April 19.

"Without question," Mr. Ziegler said, the Soviet Union's decision "is a forward step . . . We regard this as an official communication, although oral, from the U.S.S.R. to the President of the United States, and will treat it in that light."

Based on the communication with the Soviet leadership, Mr. Ziegler said, the President "gave assurances (to the Jewish leaders) that the tax would not be reimposed" once Congress acted favorably on MFN status for Moscow, a fear expressed by some in the American Jewish community.

Mr. Ziegler said the Soviet visa decree provides for exemptions, adding that "this action (exemption) does not require repealing the decree itself."

113 56

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**WIRELESS
BULLETIN**



Thursday, April 19, 1973

THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA MOSCOW

Washington, April 18 - President Nixon has exchanged "constructive communications" with Soviet leaders on emigration of Soviet Jews, the White House says.

While the White House gave no details, Senate Republican leader Hugh Scott told newsmen after a meeting with Mr. Nixon April 18 that Washington has been given formal assurance the Soviet visa tax has been suspended.

The development could have major significance in congressional consideration of Mr. Nixon's request that the Soviet Union be granted most-favored-nation tariff (MFN) treatment.

Mr. Nixon conferred at the White House April 18 with leaders of the Congress, including the key backers of a proposed amendment which would have the effect of denying MFN treatment to Moscow while it continued a practice many senators call "discriminatory" against Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate to Israel. The stated purpose of the tax was to repay in part the cost of education in state schools of those leaving the Soviet Union.

The proposed amendment, sponsored principally by Senator Henry Jackson, has gained as co-sponsors more than 70 of the 100 senators. A majority of the House of Representatives has also indicated support for the proposal.

White House Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler told newsmen the President informed the congressional leaders of "constructive communications" with Soviet leaders and urged passage of the MFN provision "as an essential in our whole policy of relaxation of tensions."

Mr. Ziegler said he could offer no "precise detail" about the communications Mr. Nixon carried on with Soviet leaders. He would not say whether the communications were directed to Soviet party leader Leonid Brezhnev.

He said he would not predict what effect the President's revelation would have on the fate of the Jackson amendment, beyond noting that Mr. Nixon "had strongly urged" granting of MFN status to Moscow.

Senator Scott said on Capitol Hill he understood the Soviet Union would grant visas to those wishing to leave "except on very limited matters of state security alone."

Phnom Penh, Cambodia, April 18 - President Lon Nol announced the resignation of his entire Cabinet Tuesday night in a move to "strengthen national unity." A new Cabinet, including opposition party members, would soon be formed, he said. Only hours before the announcement, Communist troops launched three simultaneous attacks in Southern Cambodia.

Ottawa, April 18 - Defense Minister James Richardson said Canada has extended its North American Air Defense (NORAD) Agreement with the U.S. for another two years, until May 1975. He told the House of Commons that Canada has committed itself for a short period because the U.S. was actively developing modernized air defense systems.

Seoul, April 18 - Authorities said two North Korean infiltrators were killed Tuesday in a clash with South Korean guards near the demilitarized zone. It was the third such armed clash this year. Soldiers were searching for a third infiltrator.

Washington, April 18 - Wages and other earnings of Americans rose \$6.7 billion in March, the Commerce Department reported. The March gain in personal income was \$1.8 billion less than in February, which had benefited from a one-time \$1.1 billion boost in Social Security benefits.

Washington, April 18 - Rainer Barzel, leader of the Christian Democratic Union, West German's opposition party, paid a courtesy call on President Nixon. Dr. Henry Kissinger participated in the session.

The White House said the President appreciated the opportunity to discuss international matters with Mr. Barzel, but gave no details of their talks.

* * * * *



DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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112



CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

In reply quote No.

69/2/5/7

Memo. No:

12 April 1973

→ Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW.

Memo. No: 185

Australian Embassy,
WASHINGTON.

Memo. No: 454

Australian Embassy,
CAIRO.

Memo. No: 103

Australian Embassy,
BEIRUT.

Memo. No: 101

Australian High Commission,
LONDON.

Memo. No: 476

EMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS

....

Attached for your information is a copy of Despatch No. 1 dated 13 March 1973 from Tel Aviv by Mr Dalrymple on the subject of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union to Israel.

2. Your attention is invited to AP Circular Memorandum no. 66/72 of August 1972 which provides the latest guidance on distribution of despatches. Originators are encouraged to distribute their despatches to other relevant posts but with the proviso that at the end of the despatch there should be no reference to that distribution. This information should be provided in a covering note.

(T. Sofield)
East Europe Section

lgl
Ambarasment -

*We rec'd this last week in
digest of despatches.*

Miss Lomax

*Pls. check whether cc of despatch
of 20.4.73, pls. file memo only on 20.4.73 + destroy attachment.
if not, pls. file whole lot.*

National Archives of Australia

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NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3



DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

In reply quote No.

69/2/5/7

Memo. No:

12 April 1973

→ Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW.

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LONDON.

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NAA: A10136, 201/4/2 PART 3



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AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, TEL AVIV

111

13th March, 1973

Despatch No. 1/73

EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION
TO ISRAEL

SUMMARY

It is possible that, like your predecessor, you will be asked by the Israelis to make representations to the Soviet Government in favour of the removal of obstacles to the emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union.

This emigration is of great importance to Israel. The country is short of people and other sources of Jewish immigration have almost dried up. The 2½ or 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union are seen as by far the biggest pool of potential immigrants. In addition there is a feeling that as many Jews as possible should be brought out from what is seen here as a rather dangerous place for them.

It is not clear whether Israel and Jewish organisations are trying to build up pressure on Jews inside the Soviet Union to emigrate to Israel. Their tactics suggest that they are. Although Israeli spokesmen generally adopt a strident and outraged tone in public on this subject the Government seems to have a sophisticated understanding of the factors affecting the Soviet Government, and indeed even some sympathy for Moscow in the problem it has.

The most important lever the Israelis have on the Soviet Government is the influence they can exert through Washington. Representations to the Soviet Union by others are important partly to avoid an appearance of too narrow dependence on the United States.

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AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, TEL AVIV

110

13th March, 1973

Despatch No. 1/73

Sir,

EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION
TO ISRAEL

I have the honour to send you some information and comment on immigration to Israel from the Soviet Union, a matter on which the Government of Israel will possibly seek your support.

The previous Australian Government was asked by Israel to make representations to the Soviet Union in favour of the removal of obstacles to the emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union to Israel, and Mr. Bowen did raise the matter with the Soviet Foreign Minister. (He received a dusty answer.)

The Israelis claim that expressions of interest by Heads of Government, Foreign Ministers and other leaders from certain countries have an effect on the Soviet Government's practice on this matter. It is therefore possible that the Israeli Government might at one time or another feel it would be useful to ask you to speak to the Soviet Foreign Minister, or in some other way to make representations on behalf of Soviet Jews who want to emigrate to Israel.

The position of the Government of Israel on the immigration of Soviet Jews is determined by two considerations. Firstly, this country is short of people and other sources of immigration have, at least for the time being, almost dried up. Secondly, the position of Jews in the Soviet Union is regarded as unsatisfactory and precarious.

The first factor is probably the more important of the two in the eyes of the present Government of Israel. Israel's Jewish population is about 2.8 million and it is Government policy, supported by a popular consensus (with some dissenting voices) that this must be increased rapidly. The big surges of immigration so far have been those of the European Jews from Germany and Poland before and after the Second World War as a consequence of Nazi persecution, and the transfer of communities of Jews from the Arab countries of the Middle East and North Africa. The former stream has long since dried up. As to the latter there are now only very few Jews in Moslem countries of North Africa and the Middle East so that, even if all of those remaining came to Israel, the number would not have much effect on the volume of immigration.

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109

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At one time there were strong hopes that Jews would emigrate to Israel in large numbers from the English-speaking countries, but the number doing so has been falling steadily. Immigration from the United States, which has by far the biggest Jewish population of any country in the world, fell to only 6,000 in 1972. The numbers coming from Britain with half a million Jews and Canada with 400,000 total less than 2,000 a year. Strenuous and none too scrupulous efforts, which were modified after complaints from the Government in Buenos Aires, were made to increase the number of immigrants coming from Argentina, where there are 600,000 Jews. But neither these efforts or others elsewhere in South America have met with large success so far. If it had not been for the immigration from the Soviet Union, Israel would have received only about 20,000 new immigrants in all in 1972.

There are $2\frac{1}{2}$ or possibly 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union. That is the second-largest Jewish community in the world (after the USA), and it is asserted here that many or even most of them would come to Israel if they could. They are seen as by far the biggest pool of potential immigrants.

There are problems about taking large numbers of Jews from the Soviet Union because they are attuned to a quite different social and economic environment and many of them have a lot of trouble adjusting to life here. There are also problems arising from the inapplicability of some Soviet qualifications in the Israeli market context. Moreover there is a certain uneasiness on the part of some Israelis about the eventual consequences of bringing in perhaps some hundreds of thousands of people who have lived all their lives under the Soviet system.

But these problems and difficulties are generally accounted quite secondary against the need to build up the Jewish population of Israel. Israel needs the Soviet Jews because she cannot at present get substantial Jewish migration from any other source and she knows that the present population, with a low rate of natural increase, is too uncomfortably small over against the burgeoning Arab populations round about, and particularly that of the Palestinian Arabs within the territories now under Israeli administration.

A related consideration is that the Sephardic Jews (mostly from Africa and the Middle East) are now in a small majority in Israel over the Ashkenazim (from Europe, Russia and America) and the Ashkenazim, who are politically dominant, see the immigration of Soviet Jews as their last chance of maintaining parity by balancing the higher birth rate of the Sephardim.

The other major motive in favour of pressing the Russians to permit all Jews who want to to come to Israel is, as mentioned above, the status and treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union. It is said here that discontent and concern have been growing among Jewish people in the Soviet Union. A good deal of evidence on this has been produced here from several sources including the testimony of recent immigrants to Israel. It is no doubt of uneven reliability and the true position of Jews in the Soviet

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CONFIDENTIAL

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108

Union may be less generally unsatisfactory than all this suggests. But in the light of Russian history both before and since 1917 most people here think that in the long run no Jew is safe in Russia. (There are of course people here who think no Jew is safe anywhere except in Israel - but that is a much less widely held view.)

What is not clear, at least from here, is the extent to which the apparently increasing Soviet pressure on the Jewish population has been an autonomous development or the extent to which it has been stimulated by the introduction and encouragement, by Israel and her agents, of an increasing self-consciousness and a spreading Zionist persuasion among Soviet Jews. At least one can say with certainty that the Government of Israel during 1971 and 1972 did not pull punches in its public campaign to build up pressure on the Soviet Union for the release of Jews to Israel. Nor did it appear to be moved by the possibility that the condition of Jews inside the Soviet Union would only be made tougher by vehement and repeated protests outside. The testimony of people who have recently arrived here as immigrants from the Soviet Union is that the position of Jews is deteriorating as a result of the campaign for immigration and as a result of the increasing numbers of applications for permission to emigrate to Israel which have been coming forward from Jewish citizens in the USSR.

Recent accounts are that the children of Jews are being refused places for higher education and training on the ground that the authorities cannot be sure that they will want to stay and make use of their education in the Soviet Union. Others are allegedly being passed over for position or promotion, or applications for housing and so on, on similar grounds. Some of these stories perhaps reflect the situation only in specific areas and it seems unlikely that the Soviet Government would want to alienate all its Jewish citizens. But there does seem to be an increasing pressure inside the Soviet Union of Jews wanting to emigrate to Israel. This is welcome to the Israeli Government and they seek to promote it by publicity and overt protest as well as by indirect pressure. This is hardly calculated to make the Jews in Russia more popular with the Soviet Government. It can be seen as part of a general policy of seeking to prevent the assimilation of Jews all over the world; but it is pushed harder in regard to the Soviet Jews than anywhere else. There is far less agitation and pressure for the aliya of American Jews than for those in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government has some justification for feeling that it is being singled out by Israel and World Jewry.

The Israeli Government has taken publicly a rather strident tone on this matter, and the representations they have made to people of influence in the United States and elsewhere have been couched in terms of outrage and humanitarian protest. But I think the Government really has a sophisticated understanding of the relevant factors on the Soviet side. They know they are using fairly blunt instruments which are probably a bit unfair to the Russians. So long as this works they are likely to continue to apply the most effective forms of pressure open to them at times and at places best calculated to have an effect in Moscow.

I recently had a talk about Soviet emigration with Mr. Peled, the Minister for Immigration. Rather to my surprise he said that he had a lot of sympathy for the Soviet Government in the problem it faced over

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CONFIDENTIAL

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107

the desire of Soviet Jews to emigrate. While in public he and his colleagues had to take a very critical and hard line, in fact they knew that what the Russians were doing by way of releasing Jews was unprecedented. The Soviet authorities had always been very tough about emigration. And in addition the Jewish question impinged on the national minorities problem, although it was patently a special case.

Mr. Peled thought that the education tax or "ransom" had been designed to slow down the rate of emigration of the Jews. But if so it had not had the desired effect. He did not think it would be abolished but he thought it quite possible that the administration and application of the tax might be eased. Most of those who had been allowed to come had not had qualifications that could be taxed and there had been large numbers, especially from Georgia, who were very simple, backward people. (Since this conversation a number of highly qualified immigrants have been permitted to come to Israel without having to pay the tax.) Peled thought that the Russians had originally believed they could deal with the problem of Soviet Jewry by letting out 10,000 or 15,000 "malcontents", but in doing so they had "let the air in to the fire" and the word had spread and would obviously now go on spreading. But it was a matter of genuine difficulty for the Soviet Government and they stood to lose some people whom they really could ill afford to lose. Jews were often the leaders in the universities, in science and cultural affairs in the Regions of the Soviet Union and they were seen in those places as the bearers of Russian civilisation. (This gave a special ironic twist to anti-semitism in the Regions.)

Mr. Peled said that nobody knew how many Soviet Jews would emigrate to Israel if they could. He thought that in a broad sense all, or nearly all, of them could be regarded as potential immigrants. (Since I spoke to Mr. Peled it has been claimed by a group of Jewish scientists just arrived from the Soviet Union that 500,000 Jews have applied for exit visas. But the basis of this estimate may be word-of-mouth reporting among Russian Jews rather than any direct knowledge of the Soviet Government's statistics.)

The Minister told me that the Netherlands Embassy in Moscow, which looks after Israeli interests there (Israel-USSR relations having been severed by the latter in 1967) is under standing instructions to issue an Israel entry visa to any Jew who applies. This is partly because it is not really possible to check on applicants and partly in order not to give any pretext to the Soviet authorities to stop the process. Although the Law of Return gives any Jew the right to come to live in Israel, in practice people over 65 cannot come unless they give proof of sufficient means to support themselves. This requirement is waived for Soviet applicants so that immigrants from the Soviet Union comprise a much higher proportion of old and incapacitated people than do those from the West.

This is all very expensive - not only in terms of the huge cost of receiving, helping and housing the Soviet immigrants after they arrive, but also in terms of the costs of getting them here. The Jewish Agency and other Zionist organisations are obviously finding ways of

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CONFIDENTIAL

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106

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paying secretly the tax levied on some of the qualified immigrants. They have also to bear the transport costs and considerable costs arising from the reception and transit organisation in Vienna.

Mr. Peled said cost would not be an obstacle to Israel's continuing to receive as many Soviet Jews as could get permission to leave. He thought that the Soviet Government would probably continue to release up to 3,000 per month; but it was not very predictable. Israel would take all who could come and would continue to press for the release of all who wanted to come.

Mr. Peled and other Israeli Ministers and officials are less specific when one asks for their views about Soviet reasons for letting the Jews go. They say they do not know how much influence the various factors have had and they are reluctant to be drawn about United States representations to the Soviet Union on the matter. Presumably Soviet internal developments have played a part, and perhaps an increasing part if Jewish consciousness and Zionism (which does not necessarily follow) have spread within the Soviet Union. And no doubt world opinion not only in the USA and Western Europe, but also in other countries such as Australia, has had a significant effect. (Our Embassy in Moscow has reported that the Russians are particularly sensitive about opinion on this matter in countries like Canada and Sweden.) But the timing of the Soviet relaxation and the way it has been handled suggest that the most important factor has been the United States executive representations and pressure through the United States legislature. The Israelis have confidence that they will be able to continue to rely on United States Government support in this and other respects (which is a subject for a separate Despatch). They also believe that for the foreseeable future the Russians will have an interest in accommodating United States interests on matters like this - for economic as well as strategic reasons. They believe that the Soviet need for MFN treatment with better access to United States trade, technology and science is seen in Moscow as a matter of high and pressing national interest.

It is also believed here that the Soviet Government has not been, and will not be, much influenced by the Arab Governments on this question. The Israelis claim that the Russians have answered any Arab criticism by pointing out that the Arab countries let their Jewish residents emigrate to Israel.

It is understandable that the Israel Government would want to avoid the impression that in this matter (as in others) it was dependent on the United States. This adds considerably to the importance they give to representations to the Russians by Government Ministers, academics and other public figures in a number of other countries including Australia.

.../6

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

105

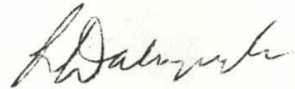
6.

It is hard for Government statements or representations on this subject to avoid taking on some aspect of interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. But it is a humanitarian issue in which a good deal of benevolent interest has been built up in a number of countries including Australia, and it is of very great importance to Israel.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,



(F.R. Dalrymple)
Ambassador

The Hon. E.G. Whitlam, QC, MP,
Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA

CONFIDENTIAL



EMBASSY OF AUSTRALIA

IN REPLY QUOTE:

221/9/8

Memorandum No: 994

9 April 1973

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA



USSR JEWS - PANOV

...

Attached, for your information, is a press article by Anthony Lewis on the treatment that the USSR authorities have accorded to Panov, the prominent dancer, who wishes to emigrate to Israel. The article appeared in the "New York Times" on 9 April, 1973.

2. Lewis wrote the article after interviewing Panov recently in Leningrad.

3. Copies of this memorandum, with attachment, have been sent to the Australian Embassies in Moscow and Tel Aviv.

(M.W. Hughes)
First Secretary.

C.C.
Australian Embassy, MOSCOW No.49
Australian Embassy, TEL AVIV OP.372

For information.

ambassador egl
in 4/8
file 201.4.2

(M.W. Hughes)
First Secretary.

The Dark Side

By Anthony Lewis

LENINGRAD—The apartment door opens. There stands a man modest in size but projecting tremendous physical power and beauty. A fringe of beard around his triangular face gives him a saturnine look.

"Panov," he says.

We step into a living room perhaps 10 feet by 16, with chairs, a dining table, a television set, a phonograph—the walls covered with pictures of dancers and musicians. On one wall a short wooden bar has been rigged as a dancer's practice bar.

That room is the universe of one of the world's great ballet dancers: his home, his studio, his stage. For more than a year now it has been the only place where Valery Panov can dance.

Panov was a leading dancer of the Kirov Ballet, Leningrad. In March, 1972, he and his wife, the ballerina Galena Ragozina, applied for exit visas to go to Israel. The Kirov company immediately dismissed him and reduced her to the lowest level of the corps de ballet; she left with him. They did not get the exit permits.

The pressures on Panov have steadily grown. Last May he was charged with spitting on a militiaman's sleeve and he spent a week in a cell full of amputees and cripples—an unsavory message. More recently mail and telegrams from abroad have been cut off. Three months ago his telephone just stopped working. Twice this month he has been stopped on the street by a

AT HOME ABROAD

Soviet prestige
keeps Panov
caged.

burly figure who asked for a cigarette—and then found himself surrounded by men who grabbed him, then let go.

But the threats may matter less than the sense of confinement. Valery Panov is not a mathematician or a writer whose life is in his head; he is a physical man who must dance to live. At the age of 35 he feels that life force draining away.

"I have a little more strength left to fight," he says. "Then . . . I must get out or my life is over; there is no more me."

For a visitor from the outside world, seeing the Panovs is like wandering into a novel, a fantasy. In that living room, its ceiling too low to let him leap, he seems caged. Galena is a tiny blonde just 23 years old. She gives an elfin smile and touches his brow when he says, "They tell people I am an evil magician who has cast a spell on her."

In his gesture and expression, Panov is the great artist who knows his true status and treats unpleasant reality almost with disdain. But not far under that surface there is desperation.

He says he is grateful for protests organized in their behalf in New York and London, but he is still not sure that Westerners understand the seriousness of the situation. For example, some who reached him by telephone asked about whether he had enough food and clothes, not about his internal agony.

"When I said they were squeezing me to death," Panov says, "there would be a silence on the telephone—as if I had spoiled the game by saying something too serious."

The irony is that Panov is such a Russian figure. He wants to do Russian ballet; he has choreographed Pushkin's "Queen of Spades" and other Russian classics. He thinks Russian dancers and training are the best, the pay and conditions good. But party cultural watchdogs made life impossible, he says, by demanding changes in productions for ideological reasons.

Why have the authorities refused to let the Panovs go? They have no secrets or political status, and outsiders would pay any exit fees demanded. The reason is surely prestige. Ballet is a major art in the Soviet Union, and Panov is probably the most decorated artist who has ever tried to leave for Israel. The symbol is hard to accept.

Of course, they are not the only people who have been refused exit visas arbitrarily. The Hermitage Museum's curator of European-American arms and armor, Leonid Tarassuk, was dismissed last year when he applied for a visa. Just a few days ago Tarassuk, who like many with higher education is a reserve military officer, got a call-up notice. If he goes, he believes that will be the end; he will then be treated as having had access to secrets and will never be allowed to leave.

Panov thinks that, despite some relaxation in applications for exit fees, the dangers are increasing for individual Jews who are regarded as prominent examples. He believes their only hope is that they will be let go as part of the arrangements for Leonid Brezhnev's projected visit to the United States: "If we do not get out then, our life is over."

In two weeks in the Soviet Union



DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600



File 69/2/5/7

Memo No. 175

3 April, 1973

The Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW.

EMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS - BENIAMIN JOSIFOWITZ

.... Attached is a copy of a letter which Rabbi Dr. Israel
Porush of Sydney sent to the Prime Minister asking him to
help his colleague's son Mr Josifowitz and family to emigrate
from the Soviet Union to Israel. A copy of our reply is
.... also attached.

2. Please take up this matter with the section of
the Netherlands Embassy looking after Israeli interests to
see if there is anything that can be done for Mr Josifowitz
and let us know the Embassy's response. We do not want you
to approach the Soviet authorities on this matter.

[Signature]
(I.F. Peters)

Head, East Europe Section

①. Ambassador

to see

②. his gaps.

Perhaps you could see d'Ansembourg.
It would be a useful pointer for a
further general discussion.

file 201.4.2 *[initials]*

101

69/2/5/7

3 April, 1973

Dear Rabbi Porush,

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter to him in which you bring to his attention the difficulties which Rabbi Shapira's son is having in obtaining an exit visa from the Soviet Union in order to be reunited with his family in Israel.

Since this concerns the emigration of a Soviet national to a third country, it is unlikely that the Soviet authorities would be at all responsive to an approach by Australia on this matter. We are nevertheless sending details of the case to our Embassy in Moscow in the hope that there may be some way in which the Embassy can assist.

Yours sincerely,

(B.C. Hill)
First Assistant Secretary

Rabbi Dr Israel Porush, O.B.E.,
The Great Synagogue,
166 Castlereagh Street,
SYDNEY. N.S.W. 2000.

ק"ק בית ישראל

THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE

RABBI DR. ISRAEL PORUSH, O.B.E.

100

RABBI'S OFFICE:
166 CASTLEREAGH STREET.
SYDNEY. 2000
(61-3950)

20 WYLDE STREET.
POTTS POINT.
SYDNEY. 2000
(35-1058)

7/11 Penkivil St.
BONDI NSW 2026

The Right Honorable
The Prime Minister of Australia
Mr. Gough Whitlam
Parliament House
CANBERRA ACT



My Dear Prime Minister,

Knowing how thoroughly absorbed you must be in national and international affairs I write with some hesitation about the insignificant case of an individual Russian Jew. My approach is on purely humanitarian grounds.

Quite a while ago I received a pitiful plea from a colleague in Israel, Rabbi S.J. Shapira, that I should try to help his son obtain an exit visa from Russia so that he could unite with his family in Israel.

Rabbi Shapira migrated to Israel in 1967, leaving behind his son Benjamin Josifowitz with his wife Margari-ta Benedktovna and daughter Ettella Benjaminovna, who live at Belgorod, Oblashnoi, Frunse 21A/37. The son, a scientist, has repeatedly made application for an exit visa but without success.

Rabbi and Mrs. Shapira are elderly people not enjoying good health, and ~~their~~ greatest wish is to have the comfort of their children at this time of their lives.

I have made enquiries about Rabbi Shapira and the information confirms the genuine character of this case. My colleagues and I, and indeed my community, would be most grateful if on compassionate grounds you would make representation with the Russian Government interceding on behalf of this case.

anticipation,

With warmest greetings and thanks in
I am Yours Sincerely

Israel Porush
Israel Porush

52

201.4.2

"Guardian" 31/3/73

201.4.2 13

99

SOVIET EMIGRATION LAWS

Bending the Rules

From the beginning of last week a flow of Soviet Jews has been leaving Russia without having to pay the emigration tax. And Soviet journalist Victor Louis, who frequently takes it upon himself to voice in the foreign press views that the Kremlin is not yet prepared to state officially, has indicated in the Tel-Aviv newspaper Yediot Aharonot that there has been in fact a change of policy.

The August 3, 1972, decree imposing the tax will not be repealed, but it will no longer be applied, he wrote. The Soviet Union is not bowing to the pressure applied from so many directions over the past six months, but it is taking the criticisms into account. The new policy is a form of honourable retreat.

The Government of the USSR did indeed summon arguments to justify the original legislation. Society spends a lot of money training intellectuals and technicians, it argues, and it is perfectly normal that they should be called on to repay the investment if they leave the country before accomplishing the work expected of them. Other regimes in other countries, the argument continues, demand payment if students trained at State expense for the civil service go to work for private companies.

This explanation might have carried weight had the tax imposed not been so heavy. Prospective emigrants, who in many instances had already lost jobs and homes, were assessed individually, and frequently asked for sums amounting to eight to ten years' wages.

Naturally enough the decree caused a considerable stir in Israel. But it had repercussions in the United States, as well. Senator Henry Jackson (Dem., Washington) introduced an amendment, accepted by a majority of representatives and 64 of the 100 senators, which required the President to assure Congress twice a year that no nation imposing abnormal emigration restriction is

being accorded most-favoured nation treatment.

The clause meant in effect that if the USSR continued to apply its legislation US-Soviet trade would be stalled, leaving little of the cooperation programme worked out by Mr Nixon and Mr Brezhnev last May in Moscow. It would mean, too, that the Soviet First Secretary's visit to Washington later this year would be a wasted effort.

It was a question that was discussed at some length by Mr Brezhnev and US Treasury Secretary George Shultz earlier this month. The American spokesman said the US was perfectly prepared to develop trade with the USSR but insisted on removal of the political obstacle — meaning allowing greater flexibility in the emigration legislation. His point was taken. And the compromise enables the Soviet Union to avoid losing face because it is not obliged to repeal the August 3 legislation.

None the less Senator Jackson may well have his amendment voted: and the USSR will receive preferential treatment as long as it does not impose abnormal restrictions on would-be emigrants. Congress will thus have an instrument to apply pressure if ever the Kremlin should decide to resume application of the tax.

Mr Brezhnev's concession is, however, significant. In another epoch the Soviet leaders would doubtless have invited the Americans in no certain terms to mind their own business. Today, in view of the prevailing state of affairs, they are prepared to give ground without public protest. This is the price for working out with the United States the large scale cooperation they dream of. The changed attitude on the emigration of Soviet Jews demonstrates quite clearly that the Kremlin gives the highest priority to establishing advantageous relations with Washington.

(March 23, 1973)

191 -
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INWARD CABLEGRAM

SECRET

98

From: WASHINGTON

No.: 11

Received: 31/3/73

SECRET
30/1932 LT

ADDRESSED CANBERRA 1742, REPEATED MOSCOW 11, TEL AVIV 0P200

USSR JEWS (UNDERLINED)

ON 30 MARCH, MATLOCK (COUNTRY DIRECTOR FOR THE USSR IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT) SAID THAT THE USSR AUTHORITIES HAD GRANTED EXEMPTIONS FROM PAYMENT OF THE EDUCATION TAX TO SEVERAL HUNDRED JEWISH EMIGRANTS IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS.

M AIDED BY THE EXEMPTIONS, TOTAL JEWISH EMIGRATION DURING THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1973 HAD STOOD AT APPROXIMATELY 7000 PERSONS.

THIS LEVEL OF EMIGRATION WAS SLIGHTLY HIGHER THAN WHAT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1972.

USSR POLICY (UNDERLINED)

3. MATLOCK SAID THAT OFFICIALS OF THE USSR FOREIGN MINISTRY HAD TOLD MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN MOSCOW THAT THEIR HAD BEEN A CHANGE IN POLICY AND THAT MEASURES WOULD NO LONGER BE TAKEN TO ENFORCE PAYMENT OF THE EDUCATION TAX.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT BELIEVED THAT A RECENT PRESS ARTICLE BY VICTOR LOUIS IN AN ISRAELI NEWSPAPER ACCURATELY SUMMARIZED THE CHANGE IN USSR POLICY.

THE ARTICLE BY LOUIS HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE USSR HAD NO INTENTION OF REPEALING THE EDUCATION TAX LEGISLATION.

4. MATLOCK COMMENTED THAT THE USSR DECISION TO RELAX ITS POLICY ON THE PAYMENT OF EDUCATION TAX BY NO MEANS OPENED THE WAY FOR FREE EMIGRATION OF JEWS.

THE USSR COULD EMPLOY VARIOUS OTHER MEANS TO RESTRICT JEWISH EMIGRATION.

FOR EXAMPLE, NORMAL CHARGES FOR THE ISSUE OF EXIT PERMITS AND RENUNCIATION OF CITIZENSHIP WERE OF THE ORDER OF 900 ROUBLES.

THE DECISION NOT TO ENFORCE THE EDUCATION TAX IMPLIED THAT THE USSR WOULD CONTINUE TO ALLOW JEWISH EMIGRATION TO PROCEED TO ABOUT ITS CURRENT LEVEL, BUT THE MEANS WERE AVAILABLE TO REDUCE THE FLOW IF THE USSR DECIDED TO DO AT SOME POINT IN THE FUTURE.

JACKSON AMENDMENT (UNDERLINED)

5. MATLOCK SAID THAT IT WAS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THE CONCESSION OFFERED BY THE USSR ON THE EDUCATION TAX WOULD BE

*Mr Rogers - for info
file: 201.4.2*

.../2

SECRET

.../2...

SECRET

97

SUFFICIENT TO SATISFY SUPPORTERS IN THE CONGRESS OF SENATOR JACKSON'S PROPOSAL TO WITHHOLD MFN TREATMENT FROM THE USSR UNLESS IT LIBERALIZED EMIGRATION POLICIES.

JACKSON HIMSELF HAD CRITICISED THE CONCESSION AND HAD SAID THAT HE INTENDED TO GO FORWARD WITH HIS PROPOSAL.

HOWEVER, CONGRESSMAN MILLS WAS REPORTED TO HAVE SAID IN A SPEECH RECENTLY THAT HE FELT THAT THERE WAS REASON TO BE CONFIDENT THAT THE USSR WOULD REMOVE SOME OF THE BARRIERS TO JEWISH EMIGRATION.

(IT APPEARED THAT MILLS HAD RECEIVED ASSURANCES FROM THE USSR DEPUTY MINISTER FOR FOREIGN DURING THE LATTER'S RECENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON).

6. MATLOCK'S OWN VIEW WAS THAT THERE WAS A GOOD CHANCE THAT THE USSR WOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE FURTHER CONCESSIONS IF CONGRESS PUT FORWARD CLEAR AND REALISTIC PROPOSALS.

FOR EXAMPLE, THE USSR MIGHT BE PREPARED TO ALLOW SOME JEWS OF STATURE (E.G. THE DANCER PANOV) TO EMIGRATE AND PERHAPS ALSO TO ADOPT A MORE LIBERAL ATTITUDE IN CASES WHERE PROSPECTIVE EMIGRATIONS HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN CLASSIFIED WORK.



®

BREZHNEV VISIT (UNDERLINED)

11. MATLPCK CONFIRMED PRESS REPORTS THAT JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES WERE PLANNING LARGE SCALE DEMONSTRATIONS DURING BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES.

THERE WAS NO DOUBT THAT THE ORGANIZATIONS COULD BRING OUT LARGE

.../3

SECRET

SECRET

96

NUMBERS OF DEMONSTRATORS IN CENTRES SUCH AS NEW YORK.
MATLOCK THOUGHT THAT THEIR AIM MIGHT BE TO TRY TO SECURE
FURTHER CONCESSIONS ON JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR BEFORE
BREZHNEV VISITED THE UNITED STATES.

12. THE STATE DEPARTMENT DID NOT KNOW WHEN THE VISIT WOULD TAKE
PLACE.

THE ARRANGEMENTS WERE IN THE HANDS OF THE WHITE HOUSE.
MATLOCK HAD HEARD ONE REPORT FROM A MEMBER OF KISSINGER'S
SENATE ABOUT A VISIT IN EAR-+%?E

UCBU
D THAT THE ARRANGE-
MENTS COULD BE CONCLUDED AT SUCH SHORT NOTICE.

13. THE USSR WOULD CERTAIN

I JRX
QH
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UINQNHPRRL

FVSRXOOMU
ONLY BE ANXIOUS TO HAVE THE VISIT GO
AHEAD AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

CFM: 30/1932LT 1742 11 0P200 30 1973 1972
ENDS 31/1259AEST
SAM

~~D THAT THE ARRANGE-
MENTS COULD BE CONCLUDED AT SUCH SHORT NOTICE.~~

13. THE USSR WOULD CERTAINLY BE ANXIOUS TO HAVE THE VISIT GO
AHEAD AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

CFM:

SECRET

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

INWARD CABLEGRAM **CONFIDENTIAL**

95

From: TEL AVIV

No.: OP 67

Received: 27.3.73

TAL 143

ZRNWU IXZEX KNOOK RTOFN COUMW RYELR

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDRESSED CANBERRA 125, REPEATED MOSCOW OP.67,
WASHINGTON 008, LONDON 011, VIENNA OP.068.

EXIT OF SOVIET JEWS.

YOUR 113.

A NUMBER OF SOVIET EMIGRANTS WITH EDUCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL QUALIFICATIONS HAVE BEEN ARRIVING HERE IN RECENT MONTHS WITHOUT HAVING HAD TO PAY EDUCATION TAX (SEE DESPATCH NO. 1/73 OF 13TH MARCH). AS REPORTED HERE, LATEST DEVELOPMENT IS THAT SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE PUBLICISED RELEASE OF JEWS WITHOUT PAYMENT OF TAX BUT HAVE NOT FORMALLY LIFTED OR ABOLISHED REGULATIONS IMPOSING THE TAX ON QUALIFIED EMIGRANTS (INCLUDING JEWS).

2. THE RESPONSE IN ISRAEL SO FAR HAS BEEN THAT THE RELAXATION OF APPLICATION OF THE REGULATIONS TO JEWS WISHING TO EMIGRATE IS ONLY A TACTICAL RESPONSE TO THE ABLOCKAGE OF MFN LEGISLATION IN WASHINGTON. IT IS FEARED THAT IF AND WHEN THAT LEGISLATION IS PASSED RESTRICTIONS WILL BECOME TOUGHER AGAIN. THE LINE HERE AT PRESENT IS THAT PRESSURE ON THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE MAINTAINED UNTIL RESTRICTIONS ON JEWISH EMIGRATION ARE REMOVED.

CFM : 125 OP67 008 011 OP.068 113 1/73
13TH
ENDS : 26.1200LMS
74

Mr. Menston
file: Jews

201-4-2.

CONFIDENTIAL

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

OUTWARDS TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL

49

94

To: CANBERRA 264 REPEATED WASHINGTON 11,
No.: LONDON 79, VIENNA OP60, TEL AVIV OP 61
File No.: 201.4.2
Date: 26.3.73

Dist.: Ambassador
Counsellor
Third Secretary
Consul
Attache

26.2.73
KNOOK COUMW RYELR IXZEX RTOFN ZRNWU

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDRESSED CANBERRA 264 REPEATED WASHINGTON 11
LONDON 79 VIENNA OP60 TEL AVIV OP 61 (LONDON
PLEASE PASS)

EXIT OF SOVIET JEWS (UNDERLINED)

YOUR 236.

2. NETHERLANDS EMBASSY WITH WHOM WE SPOKE TODAY 26 MARCH (THEY DO NOT WORK ON SATURDAYS) CONFIRMED THAT JEWS SEEKING EXIT VISAS SINCE MONDAY 19 MARCH WERE NOT (UNDERLINE ONE) BEING ASKED BY SOVIET AUTHORITIES FOR REPAYMENT OF EDUCATIONAL EXPENSES.
3. SOME APPLICANTS HAD BEEN TOLD BY AUTHORITIES THAT EXCEPTIONS WERE BEING MADE ONLY FOR THEM, OTHERS THAT REPAYMENT WAS NOT BEING DEMANDED ONLY ON THAT PARTICULAR DAY: IE (UNDERLINE ONE) SOVIET AUTHORITIES DID NOT GIVE IMPRESSION THAT LIFTING OF REPAYMENT WAS DEFINITE POLICY.
4. HENRY SHAPIRO, UPI CORRESPONDENT (GENERALLY CONSIDERED TO BE MOST RELIABLE AND WELL-INFORMED) WHAS REPORTED, HOWEVER, THAT SOVIET AUTHORITIES TOLD HIM THAT NON-PAYMENT WAS (UNDERLINE ONE) DEFINITE POLICY.
5. NETHERLANDS EMBASSY ALSO SAID THAT JEWISH APPLICANTS LAST WEEK WERE FROM ALL (UNDERLINE ONE) THE USUAL CENTRES FROM WHICH APPLICANTS GENERALLY COME IE MOSCOW, LENINGRAD, GEORGIA, MOLDAVIA, UKRAINE, BALTIC REPUBLICS.
6. THEY COULD NOT YET JUDGE WHETHER THE TOTAL NUMBER OF EXIT VISAS GRANTED BY SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAD BEEN INCREASED, BUT THEY DID KNOW THAT THERE WERE NOW FIVE (UNDERLINE ONE) OFFICIALS IN LENINGRAD SOLELY HANDLING VISA APPLICATIONS, COMPARED WITH ONLY ONE (UNDERLINE ONE), PREVIOUSLY.
THE PROPORTION OF JEWISH ARTISTS AND "INTELLECTUALS" (NOT NECESSARILY DISSIDENTS) WHO WERE BEING GRANTED EXIT VISAS WITHOUT REPAYMENT OF EDUCATIONAL EXPENSES SEEMED LAST WEEK TO BE HIGHER THAN USUAL.
7. NETHERLANDS EMBASSY COULD NOT PROVIDE INFORMATION ON WHETHER EDUCATIONAL EXPENSES ALREADY PAID BEFORE 19 MARCH BY JEWISH APPLICANTS WERE BEING REPAID BY SOVIET AUTHORITIES.

CFM: 264 11 79 OP60 OP61 236 26 MAR 19 MAR SHAPIRO
MOSCOW LENINGRAD GEORGIA MOLDAVIA UKRAINE BALTIC FIVE ONE
ENDS: 26/1525LT
MB

CONFIDENTIAL

48
AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

INWARD CABLEGRAM

93
CONFIDENTIAL

From: LONDON

No.: 58

Received: 24/3/73

IXZEX COUMW 23.3.1973
IXZEX KNOOK

CONFIDENTIAL
8 ADDRESSED CANBERRA 4759, REPEATED MOSCOW 58
EXXX~~XXXXXX~~XXXX~~XXXXXX~~

EXIT OF SOVIET JEWS

• YOUR 4424.

FCO HAS NO HARD EVIDENCE BUT ASSUMES THAT PRESS REPORTS ARE BASICALLY ACCURATE.

THEY NOTE THAT LAW REMAINS ON THE STATUTE BOOKS, AND RECALL THAT GROMYKO SAID IN NEW YORK THAT TAX PROVISIONS WOULD BE APPLIED "ADMINISTRATIVELY".

IT WOULD THEREFORE SEEM THAT RUSSIANS HAVE CHOSEN NOT TO APPLY PROVISIONS AT PRESENT TIME, PRESUMABLY DUE TO CONSIDERATIONS OF RELATIONS WITH UNITED STATES. ~~XXXX~~

THEY WOULD FEEL FREE TO REIMPOSE THEM IF UNITED STATES PUBLIC OPINION CHANGED, OR FOR ANY OTHER REASON.

2. FCO FELT THAT RUSSIANS MUST REGRET THEIR INITIAL DECISION TO IMPOSE TAX, AS THEY NOW HAD TO SUFFER PUBLIC PROTESTS OR APPEAR TO BE BACKING DOWN UNDER PRESSURE.

CFM 4759 58 4424 2
ENDS 231916LT

Mr Menston
file: Jews

201.4.2

CONFIDENTIAL

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

INWARD CABLEGRAM

92 47

From: CANBERRA

No.: 236

Received: 23.3.73

CL3789 231709
O. 029540
COUMW IXZEX KNOOK RTOFN ZRNWU
COUMW RYELR

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDRESSED MOSCOW 236, REPEATED WASHINGTON 1368, LONDON 4424,
VIENNA 355, TEL AVIV 113.

EXIT OF SOVIET JEWS.

PRESS REPORTS LIFTING OF EDUCATION TAX ON JEWS WISHING
TO EMIGRATE.

GRATEFUL CONFIRMATION AND ANY COMMENT.

CFM: 236 1368 4424 355 113
ENDS 231652AEST
CD

d'Rosenburg

Mr Weston

file: Jews

201.4.2.

46
**WIRELESS
BULLETIN**



201.4.2
Thursday
March 22, 1973

THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA MOSCOW

91

Moscow, Mar. 21 - Major news sources reported Wednesday that the Soviet head tax on university-educated emigrants has been suspended and has not been collected for several days.

The tax evoked a storm of protest in western countries.

A substantial number of tax-free visas with permission to leave for Israel have been granted in Moscow, Riga, Tbilisi and other cities to persons subject to the tax under current legislation, the sources said.

The reports have been confirmed to UPI by official Soviet organizations with every indication that the law imposing so-called reimbursement fees on emigrating college graduates had become a dead letter.

The application of the law, according to the same sources, has been limited since its enactment last Aug. 3. Out of 20,000 Jews who left between August and March only about 900 actually paid the tax, the sources said.

Sources said Tuesday that about half the persons given exemptions in Moscow this week had been approved for emigration but had been unable to leave earlier because of inability to pay.

Tel Aviv, Mar. 21 - The Soviet Union has dropped its academic head tax on Jews applying to emigrate to Israel, the newspaper Yedioth Aharonoth said Wednesday.

In a special dispatch from Moscow, written by Soviet journalist Victor Louis, Yedioth said the Soviets were not canceling the head tax law, but were no longer demanding the fees.

"The Soviet law which sets the head tax on Jewish academicians wanting to emigrate to Israel will not be canceled and no changes will be made in it-- but it also will not be enforced," Louis said, quoting officials of OVIR, the government agency that issues exit permits.

Yedioth also said Soviet Jews who already have emigrated may receive a refund on taxes they paid.

"It is not out of the question that the fees, already paid by the Jews since the law took effect six months ago, will be returned to relatives and children remaining in the Soviet Union," the newspaper said.

Washington, Mar. 21 - President Nixon welcomed the Soviet Union's visiting women gymnastics team to the White House today and told them "whatever the differences between the leaders of the world, we think the young people can live with Mir Y Druzhba (peace and friendship.)"

The President posed for photographs with the young athletes and congratulated them "on your wonderful performance" both in the 1972 Olympics and during their current U.S. tour.

Speaking to them through an interpreter, Mr. Nixon said: "I want you to know that we welcome you not simply for your athletic achievement, but because you represent the youth of the Soviet Union. Later this year, when Mr. Brezhnev is here, we will talk about the U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations. We will be talking most, however, about the young people of America, Russia and the world,"

London, Mar. 21 - The U.S. dollar rallied from a slight decline Wednesday and made an overall improvement on European money markets still adjusting to the new floating system of international exchange rates.

Copenhagen, Mar. 21 - Denmark's biggest labor conflict in 37 years began Wednesday when about 258,000 workers went on strike or were locked out after union and employer groups failed to agree on new two-year contracts.

Stockholm, Mar. 21 - Foreign Minister Krister Wickman criticized the Nixon administration Wednesday for downgrading diplomatic relations with Sweden over the Vietnam issue.

Wickman said President Nixon's decision to recall the U.S. Ambassador and Charge d' Affaires from Stockholm and refuse to accept a new Swedish Ambassador in Washington served neither the best interests of the United States nor Sweden.

Vatican City, Mar. 21 - Pope Paul VI Wednesday appointed Cardinal Luigi Raimondi, his former representative in Washington, to head the Vatican department which examines proposals for sainthood.

Raimondi's appointment as prefect of the congregation for causes of saints came 15 days after his elevation, along with 30 other prelates, to the rank of Cardinal in the Roman Catholic church.

Until his elevation to the College of Cardinals, Raimondi, 60, served in Washington as Apostolic Delegate, or Vatican representative without official diplomatic status. He was given that assignment in 1967 after serving as a diplomat in Guatemala, India, Haiti and Mexico.

Ankara, Mar. 21 - A constitutional committee Wednesday passed an amendment extending President Cevdet Sunay's term for two years.

The amendment, a compromise measure proposed after parliament failed to elect a new President in voting last week, now goes to the lower house for debate.

Washington, Mar. 21 - The Supreme Court Wednesday approved local property taxes for financing public schools, holding in a 5 to 4 decision that education is not among the rights afforded explicit protection under the constitution.

The majority reversed a lower court decision which had held the Texas system of financing schools unconstitutional. The lower court said the system made the quality of education dependent on local, rather than state wealth.

"It is not the province of this court to create substantive constitutional rights in the name of guaranteeing equal protection of the laws," said Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr. for the majority.

Montgomery, Ala., Mar. 21 - Gov. George C. Wallace said Tuesday he was not going to let his inability to walk keep him from being politically active.

Sitting in a parlor at the executive mansion during the taping of the 90-minute program, Wallace did not say whether he intends to run for President again in 1976.



EMBASSY OF AUSTRALIA

IN REPLY QUOTE: 221/9/8

Memorandum No. 777

16 March 1973

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA



EMIGRATION OF JEWS FROM THE USSR

Attached, for your information, is the text of the amendment which Senator Jackson has sponsored in the Congress to deny Most Favoured Nation treatment to "non-market economy" countries denying their citizens the right to free emigration. The list of sponsors in the document comprises those Senators who supported the amendment when it was first submitted in 1972 during the last Congress. A similar number of Senators and some two hundred and fifty members of the House of Representatives have co-sponsored the Jackson amendment in the new Congress.

2. Also attached, is a press clipping from the "New York Times" of 9 March 1973 which reported that three hundred Jewish intellectuals had signed an open letter to Senator Jackson and Chairman Mills stating that they had not been permitted to emigrate by the USSR authorities on the ground that they had enjoyed access to classified information in the course of their employment,

3. Copies of this memorandum, with attachments, have been sent to the Australian missions in Moscow and Tel Aviv.

(M.W. Hughes)
First Secretary.

C.C.
Australian Embassy, Moscow No. 42
Australian Embassy, Tel Aviv OP.296

For information.

(M.W. Hughes)
First Secretary.

Ambassador
R/S Gao
Mr Newton
File: Jews

201-42



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 92^d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1972

EAST-WEST TRADE RELATIONS ACT—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 1691

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I am pleased to submit and send to the desk an amendment in the cause of human rights and individual liberty; and I am proud to be joined in this effort by a bipartisan majority of 72 Members of the U.S. Senate. There are times when the depth of our commitment to our own deepest values is put to the test, and this is one of those times.

Last week when I spoke in this Chamber I quoted a great and wise man who, I am certain, would approve of what we are doing here today. The words are those of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Russian Nobel laureate, who was prevented by his government from traveling to the West to deliver them:

There are no internal affairs left on our crowded Earth.

Despite the effort to silence Solzhenitsyn he has been heard; and because what he says is true, I am confident he will hear us today.

What we are here doing is a pale reflection of the magnificent courage that has been shown by those brave men and women in the Soviet Union who have risked far more than we to assert their claim to freedom. In joining them we deepen our sense of ourselves; and for their example of bravery it is we who should be grateful.

Mr. President, the tyranny the Soviet Government continues to inflict on its minorities of all faiths and persuasions, on its dissidents, its scholars, its scientists, and men of letters is a crime in which all who choose to acquiesce are implicated. To the oppression, which has become commonplace, we have now seen the Soviet authorities add a barbarous ransom on those Russian Jews who seek to emigrate to Israel. It is toward this most recent outrage that we have directed a specific section of our amendment.

Mr. President, the amendment is a simple one. It would deny the Soviet Union the access to the American economy that they have actively sought unless they alter their emigration policies. Specifically, unless they permit the opportunity to emigrate, we would deny them most-favored-nation treatment and we would deny them an opportunity to participate in Government credit programs or in programs of credit or investment guarantees. It is a severe measure—and, I believe, an appropriate one.

Once before, Mr. President, within our memory, the world stood by while an innocent people was all but exterminated. The remnant of that nightmare has established and now defends a brave and proud democracy. In a terrible time, the one bright light in the hopes of the Soviet Jews is the existence of the State of Israel. That Israel should exist is a modern miracle; that the Russian Jews should be denied the right to go there is a cruel and inhuman irony. It must be ended.

Mr. President, I am confident that our amendment will be understood in Moscow, and I am hopeful that the Soviet authorities will appreciate the wisdom of ending their senseless oppression of men who desire only the right to emigrate, to remove themselves from a totalitarian state in which they are deprived of essential human rights. I know, too, that the administration will reflect the judgment of the Senate and that the views that underlie this amendment will be impressed by them on the Soviet Government.

Mr. President, in moving as we are today we are giving birth to a bipartisan coalition for freedom. It is the least we can do.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the text of the amendment along with the names of the 72 Senators who have joined as cosponsors; my remarks of September 27, 1972, to Members of the Senate; and the text of a letter dated September 27, 1972, to Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 1691

At the end of the bill, add the following new section:

EAST-WEST TRADE AND FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS

SEC. 10. (a) To assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights, and notwithstanding any other provision of this Act or any other law, after October 15, 1972, no nonmarket economy country shall be eligible to receive most-favored-nation treatment or to participate in any program of the Government of the United States which extends credits or credit guarantees or investment guarantees, directly or indirectly, during the period beginning with the date on which the President of the United States determines that such country—

(1) denies its citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate; or

(2) imposes more than a nominal tax on emigration or on the visas or other documents required for emigration, for any purpose or cause whatsoever; or

(3) imposes more than a nominal tax, levy, fine, fee, or other charge on any citizen as a consequence of the desire of such citizen to emigrate to the country of his choice, and ending on the date on which the President determines that such country is no longer in violation of paragraph (1), (2) or (3).

(b) After October 15, 1972, a nonmarket economy country may participate in a program of the Government of the United States which extends credits or credit guarantees or investment guarantees, and the authority conferred by sections 3 and 6(a) of this Act may be exercised with respect to such country, only after the President of the United States has submitted to the Congress a report indicating that such country is not in violation of paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of subsection (a). Such report with respect to such country, shall include information as to the nature and implementation of emigration laws and policies and restrictions or discrimination applied to or against persons wishing to emigrate. The report required by this subsection shall be submitted initially as provided herein and semi-annually thereafter so long as any agreement entered into pursuant to the exercise of such authority is in effect.

COSPONSORS TO THE JACKSON AMENDMENT TO S. 2620

Senator Henry M. Jackson.
Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff.
Senator Warren G. Magnuson.
Senator Gordon Allott.
Senator James L. Buckley.
Senator Ernest F. Hollings.
Senator Birch Bayh.
Senator Edward J. Gurney.
Senator William V. Roth, Jr.
Senator John V. Tunney.
Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr.
Senator James B. Allen.
Senator Clinton P. Anderson.
Senator J. Glenn Beall, Jr.
Senator Henry Bellmon.
Senator Alan Bible.
Senator J. Caleb Boggs.
Senator Bill Brock.
Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr.
Senator Robert Byrd.
Senator Howard W. Cannon.
Senator Clifford P. Case.
Senator Lawton Chiles.
Senator Frank Church.
Senator Marlow Cook.
Senator Alan Cranston.
Senator Robert Dole.
Senator Thomas F. Eagleton.
Senator Paul J. Fannin.
Senator Barry Goldwater.
Senator Robert P. Griffin.
Senator Philip A. Hart.
Senator Clifford Hansen.

Senator Vance Hartke.
Senator Harold E. Hughes.
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.
Senator Jacob K. Javits.
Senator Edward M. Kennedy.
Senator Gale McGee.
Senator George McGovern.
Senator Walter Mondale.
Senator John McClellan.
Senator Joseph M. Montoya.
Senator Edmund S. Muskie.
Senator Robert Packwood.
Senator John O. Pastore.
Senator James B. Pearson.
Senator Claiborne Pell.
Senator Charles H. Percy.
Senator William Proxmire.
Senator William B. Saxbe.
Senator Richard S. Schweiker.
Senator John Sparkman.
Senator William B. Spong, Jr.
Senator John Stennis.
Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III.
Senator Stuart Symington.
Senator Robert Taft, Jr.
Senator Herman Talmadge.
Senator Strom Thurmond.
Senator John Tower.
Senator Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
Senator Howard H. Baker, Jr.
Senator Edward W. Brooke.
Senator Norris Cotton.
Senator Peter H. Dominick.
Senator Ted Stevens.
Senator Charles McC. Mathias.
Senator Daniel K. Inouye.
Senator Jennings W. Randolph.
Senator Lloyd Bentsen.
Senator Hugh Scott.
Senator Wallace L. Bennett.**

EAST-WEST TRADE AND FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS

(Statement by Senator HENRY M. JACKSON)

Mr. President, I will be offering on behalf of a bipartisan group of my colleagues an amendment to the East-West Trade Relations Act of 1971, S. 2620. It is a simple amendment. It arises out of and is rooted in our traditional commitment to the cause of individual liberty. It is a simple plea for simple justice. But unlike other such pleadings, it has some teeth in it.

Our amendment would add a new section ten to the bill, consisting of nine parts, that would extend most-favored-nation treatment to Communist countries. It would establish a direct legislative link between that status and other trade and credit concessions, on the one hand, and the freedom to emigrate without the payment of prohibitive taxes amounting to ransom, on the other. Under this amendment no country would be eligible to receive most-favored-nation treatment or to participate in U.S. credit and credit and investment guarantee programs unless that country permits its citizens the opportunity to emigrate to the country of their choice. Moreover, the amendment would require the President to judge and report in detail upon the compliance with this condition of any country wishing to obtain most-favored-nation status or U.S. credits. Such a report, updated at regular intervals, would make available our best information as to the nature, content, application, implementation and effects of the emigration laws and conditions in the countries concerned.

Mr. President, the Nobel lecture of the great Russian writer, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, was recently published in the West. It is more than a sharp condemnation of tyranny. It contains the profound message that "mankind's sole salvation lies in everyone making everything his business, in the people in the East being vitally concerned with what is thought in the West, the people of the West vitally concerned with what goes on in the East."

Mr. President, the "thought in the West" is contained in our amendment. I propose that this great Senate concern itself with what goes on in the East.

We have received numerous reports of late about the intensification of state repression in the Soviet Union. Intellectuals and other dissidents have been arrested and sent to labor camps, hospitals and mental institutions. In Lithuania demonstrations by Roman Catholics demanding religious and civil freedom have been brutally put down. And the Soviet regime has stepped up its campaign against Jews seeking to emigrate to Israel.

The most dramatic violation of basic human rights is the recent decision of the Politburo to demand a ransom from Jews wishing to leave the Soviet Union. The reaction to this decision in the West has been one of outrage and revulsion. It violates our most deeply held convictions about human freedom and dignity. It recalls to us a dark age when human beings were enslaved and traded as chattel. In our own land it took a civil war to blot out that disgrace and vindicate the principles of our Constitution.

Mr. President, those of us who lived during the time of the Third Reich remember when Himmler sold exit permits for Jews. As the great British historian Robert Conquest has pointed out, the Soviet leaders may be unaware of this unflattering parallel since none of the Western literature on the Holocaust has been published in Russia. But we are aware of the Holocaust. We see the parallel. And that is why we must do whatever we can to prevent a repetition of that horrible catastrophe.

I will not here catalogue the continuing record of oppression suffered by the Soviet Jews and by other minorities and dissidents in the Soviet Union. But I must express my fear that the current ransom program, wicked in itself, carries with it the potential to exacerbate anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union to an extent and a depth that we hoped perished for all time with the collapse of the Third Reich. For in the effort to justify this barbaric trade in human beings the Soviets have appealed to the basest instincts. The reports reaching us affirming the popularity of the ransom policy are the most painful of all. They portend the unleashing of bitter forces that even a totalitarian regime as adept at regimenting its people as the Soviet state cannot always control. Nor is it certain that control is what the leaders in the Kremlin desire.

Now, the Soviet leaders have explained that the exorbitant emigration taxes, amounting to thousands of dollars, are in reality a tax on education incurred by the student as a consequence of his state-supported studies. The more audacious Soviet spokesmen have gone so far as to compare these taxes to the obligation incurred by the graduates of our military academies who undertake to spend a specified period of time following graduation in the armed services.

In principle there is nothing wrong with the making of an agreement between student and institution of learning—or, for that matter, between the student and the state—in which the student undertakes certain obligations in return for his tuition. But that is not what is involved in the Soviet case and it is a lie to suggest otherwise. For one thing the emigration taxes have been retroactively imposed on all citizens. They do not arise out of any agreement or understanding or voluntary obligation. For another, the Soviet student is denied recourse to private educational institutions so that even if the obligations were placed on a voluntary basis, which they are not, there would be no way to avoid them. One would be forced either to accept the state's terms or go without any education. Moreover, the taxes imposed on emigration, unlike agreements sometimes made in Western countries to serve after graduation in a prearranged capacity, are prohibitive and intended to be so. Soviet citizens are simply not permitted to earn or amass the sums necessary to purchase their freedom. To attempt to borrow the huge amounts involved opens one to persecution for economic crimes, and no one earns the sort of income that would enable him to pay the visa tax for an advanced education without borrowing. So the funds cannot be generated internally.

The fact is, Mr. President, that a decision to pay the ransom demand would be to submit to blackmail of the most ominous sort. Where would it stop? Would it spread to other countries as aerial hijacking did when first attempted and then emulated? Would the remnant of scattered minorities, Jews and others, become the new medium of international exchange? Would we organize the agencies, arrange for the planes and ships, transfer the foreign exchange, negotiate the prices—in short, would we institutionalize the sale of a whole people? I say no—and I ask the Senate to join with me in saying, No!

There will be those who will say, even as Mr. Brezhnev must surely have said to the President in Moscow, that the action we are proposing is an intrusion in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. To this I would quote Solzhenitsyn: "There are no internal affairs left on our crowded Earth."

The fact is, of course, that the ransom—were it to be paid—would be paid out of funds raised primarily in the United States. That surely gives us the right as a government, quite apart from the dedication to our own high principles, to be "vitaly concerned

Mr. President, we Americans are fortunate to have at our service the greatest economy the world has ever known. It can do more than enrich our lives. It can be pressed into service as an instrument of our commitment to individual liberty. We can deny our vast markets to the Soviet Union. We can reserve participation in our credit and investment programs—our "internal" matters—to those countries who accord their citizens the fundamental human right to emigrate. We can, and we must, keep the faith of our own highest traditions.

We must not now, as we did once, acquiesce to tyranny while there are those, at greater risk than ourselves, who dare to resist.

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., September 27, 1972.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: We invite you to join with us in cosponsoring an amendment to Senator Magnuson's East-West Trade Relations Act. Our amendment would deny most-favored-nation treatment and participation in various U.S. credit programs to nonmarket economy countries that deny their citizens the right to emigrate or impose prohibitive taxes on such emigration.

The principal and immediate cause of our concern is the imposition by the Soviet Union of a head tax ranging from \$5000 to \$30,000—amounting to a ransom—on those Soviet Jews who wish to emigrate to Israel. This ransom, were it to be paid, would of necessity be paid out of funds raised primarily in the United States. We believe that broad, bipartisan cosponsorship of our amendment will let the Soviet Union know, while there is time for them to alter their present policy, that the Senate of the United States will not extend the benefits of access to the American economy to those who deny their own people the fundamental right to emigrate.

Some of us have for many years been advocates of increased trade with Communist countries; some of us doubt the wisdom of such a course. But all of us, regardless of our attitude toward the extension of U.S. trade benefits to the Soviet Union, are moved to the action in which we are asking you to join by the unconscionable attempt of the Soviet Union to ransom human beings.

We hope that you will join us in cosponsoring the attached amendment to the East-West Trade Relations Act of 1971. We feel this is the right time for Senators to go on record on this issue of concern to so many Americans. The vote on this legislation is likely to be taken early in the next session of Congress.

If you wish to join us in cosponsoring this amendment please have your office call either Richard Perle (x53381) or Morris Amitay (x52823).

Sincerely,
Henry M. Jackson, Abraham A. Ribicoff,
Warren G. Magnuson, Gordon Allott,
James L. Buckley, Ernest F. Hollings,
Birch Bayh, Edward J. Gurney, William
V. Roth, Jr., John V. Tunney, Harrison
A. Williams, Jr.

4

New York Times - 9 March 1973

THE NEW YORK TIMES

309 SOVIET JEWS APPEAL TO 2 IN U.S.

Ask Jackson and Mills to
Help on Visas to Israel

By THEODORE SHABAD
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, March 8 — About 800 Jewish intellectuals appealed to leaders of the United States Congress today for help in emigrating to Israel. Scientists and technicians from six cities who have been frustrated in efforts to obtain

exit visas addressed an open letter to Senator Henry M. Jackson and Representative Wilbur D. Mills, who have sponsored moves to link East-West trade relaxation to an easing of Soviet emigration rules.

The latest Jewish appeal, which was made available to American newsmen, comes just before the arrival Sunday in Moscow of George P. Shultz, the Secretary of the Treasury, for what may be important talks on the prospects of Soviet-American trade.

Tactics Being Formulated

Soviet spokesmen have given the first signs of impatience over delays in the United States

on ratification of a trade agreement signed last October. The pact, if approved by Congress, is expected to expand the once negligible commercial relations between the two countries.

The Nixon Administration has not yet submitted legislation to Congress on East-West trade and is apparently still working out its tactics in face of the Congressional moves linking trade and Soviet emigration policy.

The official position of the Administration has been that the two issues should not be linked, and American officials have sought to mobilize support among United States businessmen, urging them to lobby with their Congressmen to back

easier trade with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Jews who appealed to Senator Jackson, a Democrat of Washington, and to Mr. Mills, an Arkansas Democrat and chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, represented a hard core of would-be emigrants who have been denied permission to leave while thousands of others are getting exit visas.

Security Threat Denied

The 309 signers of the appeal, from Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, Kiev, Vilna and Novosibirsk, are among Jews who have not been allowed to emigrate on the ground that they have been privy to secret information.

Virtually all the Jews affected by the secrecy rule deny that they have been employed on secret projects in recent years and contend that their emigration would not threaten the Soviet Union's national security.

Being mostly college graduates with advanced degrees, the signers also protested the controversial higher education tax being levied by the Soviet Government on emigrants in an attempt to recover the costs of education and advanced training, which are free of tuition under the Soviet system.

The Jews' six-page typewritten letter said that public opinion in the West had already been a significant factor

in enabling Jews to emigrate from the Soviet Union. Emigration in general is highly restricted for all Soviet citizens, and Jews have been the only group to leave in relatively large numbers. Last year, out of more than two million Jews in the Soviet Union, about 30,000 left, according to Israeli figures.

The letter appeared to reflect a hope that Congressional pressure might induce the Soviet authorities to grant exit permits to those Jews who, for a variety of reasons, have been frustrated in their efforts to emigrate. The signers recalled that selected families had been permitted to leave just before the signing of the Soviet-American

trade accord and President Nixon's re-election last fall.

However, Moscow has shown no sign of altering its stand in face of the evident opposition to trade relaxation in Congress. In fact the long delayed publication of the Soviet emigration tax regulations earlier this year was generally interpreted as evidence of a determination not to alter present practices.

Distribution of Californians

LOS ANGELES (UPI)—Nearly two-thirds of California's people live in its eight southern counties, while more than a third live in the Los Angeles-Long Beach area.

The Cleaner Air in Britain Said to Harm Some Trees

LONDON (AP) — London's clean air means death to hundreds of the city's plane trees. They are dying of sunstroke.

David Burdekin of the Forestry Commission research laboratory says:

"For some reason the plane is particularly susceptible to early morning sunlight after a night of hard frost. Until recently, because of air pollution, it never saw any early sun. But now we are getting both hard frost and strong morning sunlight. The effect is to kill off the planes."



AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, TEL AVIV

44
86

13th March, 1973

Despatch No. 1/73

Sir,

EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION
TO ISRAEL

I have the honour to send you some information and comment on immigration to Israel from the Soviet Union, a matter on which the Government of Israel will possibly seek your support.

The previous Australian Government was asked by Israel to make representations to the Soviet Union in favour of the removal of obstacles to the emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union to Israel, and Mr. Bowen did raise the matter with the Soviet Foreign Minister. (He received a dusty answer.)

The Israelis claim that expressions of interest by Heads of Government, Foreign Ministers and other leaders from certain countries have an effect on the Soviet Government's practice on this matter. It is therefore possible that the Israeli Government might at one time or another feel it would be useful to ask you to speak to the Soviet Foreign Minister, or in some other way to make representations on behalf of Soviet Jews who want to emigrate to Israel.

The position of the Government of Israel on the immigration of Soviet Jews is determined by two considerations. Firstly, this country is short of people and other sources of immigration have, at least for the time being, almost dried up. Secondly, the position of Jews in the Soviet Union is regarded as unsatisfactory and precarious.

The first factor is probably the more important of the two in the eyes of the present Government of Israel. Israel's Jewish population is about 2.8 million and it is Government policy, supported by a popular consensus (with some dissenting voices) that this must be increased rapidly. The big surges of immigration so far have been those of the European Jews from Germany and Poland before and after the Second World War as a consequence of Nazi persecution, and the transfer of communities of Jews from the Arab countries of the Middle East and North Africa. The former stream has long since dried up. As to the latter there are now only very few Jews in Moslem countries of North Africa and the Middle East so that, even if all of those remaining came to Israel, the number would not have much effect on the volume of immigration.

- 16 -

CONFIDENTIAL



1967/12/14

THE HON. J. B. MURPHY

DEPT. OF DEFENCE

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 12 December 1967, in relation to the above subject.

The Department is currently reviewing the matter and will advise you of the outcome as soon as possible.



I am sure you will understand the need for this process and appreciate the time taken to deal with your request.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. Murphy



I am sure you will understand the need for this process and appreciate the time taken to deal with your request.

At one time there were strong hopes that Jews would emigrate to Israel in large numbers from the English-speaking countries, but the number doing so has been falling steadily. Immigration from the United States, which has by far the biggest Jewish population of any country in the world, fell to only 6,000 in 1972. The numbers coming from Britain with half a million Jews and Canada with 400,000 total less than 2,000 a year. Strenuous and none too scrupulous efforts, which were modified after complaints from the Government in Buenos Aires, were made to increase the number of immigrants coming from Argentina, where there are 600,000 Jews. But neither these efforts or others elsewhere in South America have met with large success so far. If it had not been for the immigration from the Soviet Union, Israel would have received only about 20,000 new immigrants in all in 1972.

There are $2\frac{1}{2}$ or possibly 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union. That is the second-largest Jewish community in the world (after the USA), and it is asserted here that many or even most of them would come to Israel if they could. They are seen as by far the biggest pool of potential immigrants.

There are problems about taking large numbers of Jews from the Soviet Union because they are attuned to a quite different social and economic environment and many of them have a lot of trouble adjusting to life here. There are also problems arising from the inapplicability of some Soviet qualifications in the Israeli market context. Moreover there is a certain uneasiness on the part of some Israelis about the eventual consequences of bringing in perhaps some hundreds of thousands of people who have lived all their lives under the Soviet system.

But these problems and difficulties are generally accounted quite secondary against the need to build up the Jewish population of Israel. Israel needs the Soviet Jews because she cannot at present get substantial Jewish migration from any other source and she knows that the present population, with a low rate of natural increase, is too uncomfortably small over against the burgeoning Arab populations round about, and particularly that of the Palestinian Arabs within the territories now under Israeli administration.

A related consideration is that the Sephardic Jews (mostly from Africa and the Middle East) are now in a small majority in Israel over the Ashkenazim (from Europe, Russia and America) and the Ashkenazim, who are politically dominant, see the immigration of Soviet Jews as their last chance of maintaining parity by balancing the higher birth rate of the Sephardim.

The other major motive in favour of pressing the Russians to admit all Jews who want to come to Israel is, as mentioned above, the status and treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union. It is said here that discontent and concern have been growing among Jewish people in the Soviet Union. A good deal of evidence on this has been produced here from several sources including the testimony of recent immigrants to Israel. It is no doubt of uneven reliability and the true position of Jews in the Soviet

122



CONFIDENTIAL

84

Union may be less generally unsatisfactory than all this suggests. But in the light of Russian history both before and since 1917 most people here think that in the long run no Jew is safe in Russia. (There are of course people here who think no Jew is safe anywhere except in Israel - but that is a much less widely held view.)

What is not clear, at least from here, is the extent to which the apparently increasing Soviet pressure on the Jewish population has been an autonomous development or the extent to which it has been stimulated by the introduction and encouragement, by Israel and her agents, of an increasing self-consciousness and a spreading Zionist persuasion among Soviet Jews. At least one can say with certainty that the Government of Israel during 1971 and 1972 did not pull punches in its public campaign to build up pressure on the Soviet Union for the release of Jews to Israel. Nor did it appear to be moved by the possibility that the condition of Jews inside the Soviet Union would only be made tougher by vehement and repeated protests outside. The testimony of people who have recently arrived here as immigrants from the Soviet Union is that the position of Jews is deteriorating as a result of the campaign for immigration and as a result of the increasing numbers of applications for permission to emigrate to Israel which have been coming forward from Jewish citizens in the USSR.

Recent accounts are that the children of Jews are being refused places for higher education and training on the ground that the authorities cannot be sure that they will want to say and make use of their education in the Soviet Union. Others are allegedly being passed over for position or promotion, or applications for housing and so on, on similar grounds. Some of these stories perhaps reflect the situation only in specific areas and it seems unlikely that the Soviet Government would want to alienate all its Jewish citizens. But there does seem to be an increasing pressure inside the Soviet Union of Jews wanting to emigrate to Israel.. This is welcome to the Israeli Government and they seek to promote it by publicity and overt protest as well as by indirect pressure. This is hardly calculated to make the Jews in Russia more popular with the Soviet Government. It can be seen as part of a general policy of seeking to prevent the assimilation of Jews all over the world; but it is pushed harder in regard to the Soviet Jews than anywhere else. There is far less agitation and pressure for the aliya of American Jews than for those in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government has some justification for feeling that it is being singled out by Israel and World Jewry.

The Israeli Government has taken publicly a rather strident tone on this matter, and the representations they have made to people of influence in the United States and elsewhere have been couched in terms of outrage and humanitarian protest. But I think the Government really has a sophisticated understanding of the relevant factors on the Soviet side. They know they are using fairly blunt instruments which are probably a bit unfair to the Russians. So long as this works they are likely to continue to apply the most effective forms of pressure open to them at times and at places best calculated to have an effect in Moscow.

I recently had a talk about Soviet emigration with Mr. Peled, the Minister for Immigration. Rather to my surprise he said that he had a lot of sympathy for the Soviet Government in the problem it faced over

- 18 -

CONFIDENTIAL

the desire of Soviet Jews to emigrate. While in public he and his colleagues had to take a very critical and hard line, in fact they knew that what the Russians were doing by way of releasing Jews was unprecedented. The Soviet authorities had always been very tough about emigration. And in addition the Jewish question impinged on the national minorities problem, although it was patently a special case.

Mr. Peled thought that the education tax or "ransom" had been designed to slow down the rate of emigration of the Jews. But if so it had not had the desired effect. He did not think it would be abolished but he thought it quite possible that the administration and application of the tax might be eased. Most of those who had been allowed to come had not had qualifications that could be taxed and there had been large numbers, especially from Georgia, who were very simple, backward people. (Since this conversation a number of highly qualified immigrants have been permitted to come to Israel without having to pay the tax.) Peled thought that the Russians had originally believed they could deal with the problem of Soviet Jewry by letting out 10,000 or 15,000 "malcontents", but in doing so they had "let the air in to the fire" and the word had spread and would obviously now go on spreading. But it was a matter of genuine difficulty for the Soviet Government and they stood to lose some people whom they really could ill afford to lose. Jews were often the leaders in the universities, in science and cultural affairs in the Regions of the Soviet Union and they were seen in those places as the bearers of Russian civilisation. (This gave a special ironic twist to anti-semitism in the Regions.)

Mr. Peled said that nobody knew how many Soviet Jews would emigrate to Israel if they could. He thought that in a broad sense all, or nearly all, of them could be regarded as potential immigrants. (Since I spoke to Mr. Peled it has been claimed by a group of Jewish scientists just arrived from the Soviet Union that 500,000 Jews have applied for exit visas. But the basis of this estimate may be word-of-mouth reporting among Russian Jews rather than any direct knowledge of the Soviet Government's statistics.)

The Minister told me that the Netherlands Embassy in Moscow, which looks after Israeli interests there (Israel-USSR relations having been severed by the latter in 1967) is under standing instructions to issue an Israel entry visa to any Jew who applies. This is partly because it is not really possible to check on applicants and partly in order not to give any pretext to the Soviet authorities to stop the process. Although the Law of Return gives any Jew the right to come to live in Israel, in practice people over 65 cannot come unless they give proof of sufficient means to support themselves. This requirement is waived for Soviet applicants so that immigrants from the Soviet Union comprise a much higher proportion of old and incapacitated people than do those from the West.

This is all very expensive - not only in terms of the huge cost of receiving, helping and housing the Soviet immigrants after they arrive, but also in terms of the costs of getting them here. The Jewish Agency and other Zionist organisations are obviously finding ways of

paying secretly the tax levied on some of the qualified immigrants. They have also to bear the transport costs and considerable costs arising from the reception and transit organisation in Vienna.

Mr. Peled said cost would not be an obstacle to Israel's continuing to receive as many Soviet Jews as could get permission to leave. He thought that the Soviet Government would probably continue to release up to 3,000 per month; but it was not very predictable. Israel would take all who could come and would continue to press for the release of all who wanted to come.

Mr. Peled and other Israeli Ministers and officials are less specific when one asks for their views about Soviet reasons for letting the Jews go. They say they do not know how much influence the various factors have had and they are reluctant to be drawn about United States representations to the Soviet Union on the matter. Presumably Soviet internal developments have played a part, and perhaps an increasing part if Jewish consciousness and Zionism (which does not necessarily follow) have spread within the Soviet Union. And no doubt world opinion not only in the USA and Western Europe, but also in other countries such as Australia, has had a significant effect. (Our Embassy in Moscow has reported that the Russians are particularly sensitive about opinion on this matter in countries like Canada and Sweden.) But the timing of the Soviet relaxation and the way it has been handled suggest that the most important factor has been the United States executive representations and pressure through the United States legislature. The Israelis have confidence that they will be able to continue to rely on United States Government support in this and other respects (which is a subject for a separate Despatch). They also believe that for the foreseeable future the Russians will have an interest in accommodating United States interests on matters like this - for economic as well as strategic reasons. They believe that the Soviet need for MFN treatment with better access to United States trade, technology and science is seen in Moscow as a matter of high and pressing national interest.

It is also believed here that the Soviet Government has not been, and will not be, much influenced by the Arab Governments on this question. The Israelis claim that the Russians have answered any Arab criticism by pointing out that the Arab countries let their Jewish residents emigrate to Israel.

It is understandable that the Israel Government would want to add the impression that in this matter (as in others) it was dependent on the United States. This adds considerably to the importance they give to representations to the Russians by Government Ministers, academics and other public figures in a number of other countries including Australia.



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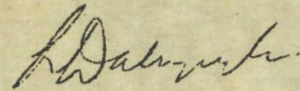
81

It is hard for Government statements or representations on this subject to avoid taking on some aspect of interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. But it is a humanitarian issue in which a good deal of benevolent interest has been built up in a number of countries including Australia, and it is of very great importance to Israel.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,



(F.R. Dalrymple)
Ambassador

The Hon. E.G. Whitlam, QC, MP,
Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA

- 21 -

CONFIDENTIAL

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INWARD CABLEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL

From: WASHINGTON

No.: 08

Received: 9.3.73

CONFIDENTIAL
08/1933LT

ADDRESSED CANBERRA 1286, REPEATED TEL AVIV OP.49, LMOSCOW 08.

EMIGRATION OF JEWS FROM THE USSR (UNDERLINED)

ON 8 MARCH, MCANDREW (DEPUTY COUNTRY DIRECTOR FOR ISRAEL IN STATE DEPARTMENT) TOLD US THAT THE PROBLEM OF EXIT VISAS FOR USSR JEWS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED EXTENSIVELY DURING THE ISRAELN PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON.

2. MCANDREW SAID THAT MRS MEIR WAS TOLD THAT CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES ON THE QUESTION COULD BECOME A SERIOUS DIFFICULTY IN UNITED STATES/USSR RELATIONS.

THE AMENDMENT PROPOSED BY SENATOR JACKSON MADE THE FREE EMIGRATION OF ALL USSR CITIZENS A CONDITION FOR THE GRANTING OF MOST FAVOURED NATION TREATMENT TO THE USSR.

THIS COULD BE REASONABLY TAKEN TO COVER A WHOLE RANGE OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE USSR AND WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO MOSCOW.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVED THAT THE JACKSON AMENDMENT COULD EVEN LEAD TO THE USSR BECOMING MORE RESTRICTIVE ABOUT THE EMIGRATION OF JEWS.

3. ACCORDING TO MCANDREW, MRS MEIR HAD SAID THAT ISRAEL BELIEVED THAT THE USSR WOULD ONLY LIBERALISE ITS POLICIES TOWARD THE EMIGRATION OF JEWS IN RESPONSE TO STRONG AND BROADLY BASED PRESSURE., AND THAT IT THEREFORE SUPPORTED THE SORT OF APPROACH PROPOSED BY SENATOR JACKSON.

4. MCANDREW ADDED (PLEASE PROTECT) THAT ISRAEL HAD BEEN LOBBYING ACTIVELY IN THE CONGRESS AND HAD BEEN RESPONSIBLE TO SOME EXTENT FOR THE TERMS OF THE JACKSON AMENDMENT.

HE SAID THAT ISRAEL HAD BEEN UNABLE TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE STATES THAT THE RATE OF JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR HAD BEEN REDUCED BY THE RESTRICTIONS WHICH HAD BEEN INTRODUCED.

IN JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1973, 5140 JEWS HAD BEEN ALLOWED TO EMIGRATE AND THIS WAS EQUAL TO THE LEVEL OF 30,000 PER ANNUM WHICH HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN 1972.

CFM : 08/1933LT 128Y OP49 08 8 MARCH 1973 5140 30,000
1972
ENDIS 3

Mr Menston
file: Jews

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201.42

42
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CONFIDENTIAL

File No: 201.4.2

Memo No: 235

1 March 1973

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA.

USSR: JEWISH EMIGRATION

(YOUR FILE 69/2/5/7)

Our memorandum 189 of 22 February 1973.

2. The publication of details of the "liberalization" of the higher education tax decree at about the same time as the publication of the decree itself seems to confirm that the Soviet government is still sensitive to foreign criticism on the subject. Furthermore, there does seem to be a degree of flexibility in the new regulations; you will note that the "Directive" of 3 August (last subsection of paragraph 3 of attachment to our memorandum 189) refers to exemption also being possible for "other valid reasons"; also the article in New Times No.2/73 refers to exemptions having been made "on account of old age, health, etc" (our underlining; corresponds to Russian text).

3. A UFI correspondent told us recently that a new "regulation" had been posted in OVIR offices on 1 December 1972 prohibiting would-be Jewish emigrants whose applications had been rejected from re-applying within two years. This would appear to be a slight further extension of the bureaucratic obstacle course which potential emigrants must negotiate. It would also seem to confirm that there was, after all, a "new regulation" of sorts posted on the date from which it was originally rumoured that far-reaching new regulations would come into effect (our cable 889/72). We wonder whether, in fact, the Soviets may not have had much more in mind, but decided for various reasons against it. (The correspondent also commented that, with

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so many Jews now leaving the USSR, foreign journalists had problems maintaining steady sources of information on the Jewish - and dissident - questions.)

4. On 27 February we discussed the Jewish emigration question with Lambert D'Ansembourg, First Secretary of the Netherlands Embassy, who now handles the Embassy's work on behalf of the Israeli Government. D'Ansembourg said that during the first two months of 1973, the rate of Jewish emigration had approximated the average monthly rate during 1972, but was higher than for the corresponding period in 1972; however, what could happen during the rest of 1973 was anybody's guess.

5. D'Ansembourg said that the Soviet authorities seemed to have been applying the new "concessions" of the higher education tax only since 15 January; before that date, emigrant applicants had said that the concessions were not being made at all, but since then they had said the concessions were being applied fairly consistently. It seemed, however, that the Soviets administered the concessions with very little flexibility; for example, an applicant who had worked since obtaining a first tertiary degree eight years ago, and who had obtained a higher degree through part-time study five years ago, had been assessed as only being eligible for a 25% rebate on the first, but not the second degree.

6. D'Ansembourg said emigration still seemed to be allowed fairly readily from fringe Soviet Republics, but things were much more difficult for applicants from the RSFSR. One of the major problems also continued to be the (perhaps deliberate) inconsistency in the length of Soviet exit visas - some visa grantees were allowed several months to prepare to leave, others had only a few days. For many people, it was simply impossible in a short period to terminate employment, sell property, finalise paperwork and obtain air or train bookings, and, usually, Polish or Austrian transit visas. (The Austrians were quite helpful about visas, the Poles less so). D'Ansembourg considered ("but don't quote me") that the problem of the timing of exit visas seemed the single remaining area in which the West might be able to persuade the Soviet authorities to be more flexible. He suspected in fact that Victor Perelman's exit visa had been extended in late 1972 as a direct result of an appeal by Senator Hubert Humphrey.

7. We asked about the emigration rate of "intellectuals". D'Ansembourg said that although it was difficult to confirm figures since Embassy records did not specifically identify intellectuals, he had the impression that, contrary to the views of some western journalists ("who write a lot of rubbish") the emigration rate of intellectuals had actually increased since last August. He had noticed many examples of intellectuals whose exit visas, after having been delayed indefinitely for no stated reason, had suddenly

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77
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been granted in the last six months. D'Ansembourg thought this could mean that the Soviet authorities had been "saving up" intellectuals' exit visas until the introduction of the higher education tax.

8. We referred to recent Soviet press comment on Jewish emigrants allegedly seeking to return to the USSR (such as an article in Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya of 14 January which attacked those who had "renounced their homeland" because of gullibility, greed or ambition and said that they had only themselves to blame for their present plight). D'Ansembourg said there was a large Soviet literature on the subject. Recently a series of pamphlets had appeared containing "testimonials" by Soviet Jews who had emigrated, then repented and allegedly returned to the USSR. However there were never any references to the returnees' Soviet addresses and nobody knew for sure whether any Jewish emigrants had been, or would ever be, actually allowed to return to the USSR.

9. D'Ansembourg said that, as well as the well-publicised colony of Soviet Jews in Vienna, there was a group of about 100 in Bucharest allegedly trying, but in vain, to return to the USSR. The Bucharest group had travelled to Rumania on tourist visas but had stayed on illegally. The Rumanians didn't want them but were reluctant to evict them.

10. We are sending copies of this memorandum to Tel Aviv and Washington.

(J.G. Powys)
Second Secretary

Memo No: 19
Australian Embassy,
WASHINGTON.

Memo No: OP 48
Australian Embassy,
TEL AVIV.

For your information.

J
(J.G. Powys)
Second Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

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41
76

File No: 225.102
201.4.2 ✓

Memo No: 224

28 February 1973

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA.

USSR/USA

On 27 February Hill spoke with Bowden, the Counsellor for Economic and Commercial Affairs in the American Embassy, about economic aspects of the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union.

2. Bowden thought that it would be a "bad bet" to expect the USSR to have achieved a substantial modernization of its economy within five years, or even within ten years. On its own admission, it could build communism in modern conditions only on the basis of an extensive application of the scientific/technical revolution. To speedily get itself into a position to effect this, the USSR needed American capital, technology and equipment. But it could not really begin to pay for its needs until deep into the 1980's, when the export of Soviet natural gas to the United States had been established as a going concern. As for the immediate future, Congressional ratification of the trade agreement with the USSR was a roadblock.

3. Bowden said that he had taken a second look at the conditions relating to Jewish emigration from the USSR which Congress attached to its approval of the trade agreement, and that he could perceive no room for manoeuvre on the American side. It might be that some sort of compromise could be worked out between the politicians and the Jewish community if the Soviets were to cut the emigration levy by x percent, and/or if they were to permit an increase of y percent in the rate of

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Jewish emigration from the USSR; but if anything like this was in fact possible, he was unaware of the possibility. It therefore seemed that if movement on the trade agreement was to resume, it would have to be as a result of a first step taken by the USSR side; and that that step might have to be an unpalatable one.

4. Bowden said that he was trying to get this reality across in Moscow. He was putting the case to Soviet contacts in terms of there being a common problem: both parties had an interest in setting the trade agreement to work; but even the small degree of mutual accommodation that had been effected so far had brought into play an inter-relationship between political processes in the two countries: the Soviet emigration levy had activated the American Jewish lobby, whose political influence had rebounded upon the USSR. Bowden said that he had argued that "your problem is ours, and ours yours".

5. Bowden said that although he had elicited no indication that the Soviets would actually take any domestic political action to get themselves out of the corner that they had painted themselves into, their response was not altogether discouraging, being in terms of "we will play our part".

6. Bowden said that there had been a more understanding reaction on the part of the relatively young than on that of the relatively old; and that there seemed to be a better comprehension of the magnitude of what was at stake for the USSR among those with a political rather than an economic orientation. Thus, to generalize from a very small number of indicators, Brezhnev seemed to have focussed on the main problem rather more clearly than Kosygin.

7. Bowden observed that it would be politically difficult for Brezhnev if the developing relationship with the United States were to stall over the trade agreement/Jewish emigration impasse, and if there were to be a retrogression that made a fruitful visit to Washington remote. Similarly, he thought that President Nixon would be disquieted if a line of action that he had desired to go forward in a measured fashion, went awry. Bowden said that he had no knowledge of the content of the communication that recently passed between the two principals.

8. A copy of this memorandum is being minuted to Washington.

Memo No: 17
Australian Embassy,
WASHINGTON.

(M.D.P. Hill)
Counsellor

For your information.

CONFIDENTIAL

(M.D.P. Hill)
Counsellor

74⁴⁰

File No: 201/4/2

Memo No: 189

22 February 1973

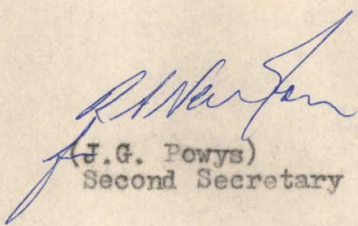
The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA.

USSR: JEWISH EMIGRATION

(YOUR FILE 69/2/5/7)

Your memorandum 54 of 7 February 1973.

- 2. We attach an English translation of the
text of the decree published in the Supreme Soviet
Bulletin of 27 December 1972, together with our
.... translation of the "directive" in the Journal of
Decrees of the Government of the USSR detailing
regulations and scales of reimbursable fees.
3. Comment follows by memorandum next week.


(J.G. Powys)
Second Secretary

73

Ratified by a resolution of the
Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.
on 3 August 1972

No. 573

DIRECTIVE

Concerning the reimbursement by citizens of the
USSR, leaving for permanent residence overseas, of
government expenses for training.

1. Citizens of the USSR, leaving for permanent
residence overseas, repay government expenses for their
training in higher educational institutions of the USSR in
the following amounts:

(in thousand Roubles)

	Having completed a higher educational institution or studying in the final year	Training in progress				
		1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years
Moscow State University	12.2	2.1	4.9	7.3	9.8	-
Other Universities	6.0	1.2	2.4	3.6	4.8	-
Engineering - technical engineer- ing - economic and higher military academies	7.7	1.5	3.1	4.6	6.1	-
Agricultural and forrestry	5.6	1.1	2.3	3.4	4.5	-
Medical, pharmaceutical, stomatological and physical culture	8.3	1.1	2.8	4.2	5.6	7.0
Economic, legal, pedagogical, historic-archival institutes and institutes of culture	4.5	0.9	1.8	2.7	3.6	-
Institutes and faculties of foreign languages	6.8	1.4	2.8	4.1	5.5	-
Institutes of art (conservatoria, theatrical, art and literary)	9.6	1.9	3.8	5.7	7.7	-

2. From those persons having studied as a post-graduate, intern, military graduate or having a degree, in addition to the reimbursement of government expenses for their higher education, stipulated in paragraph I of the present instructions, is levied:

- (a) From those who studied as a post-graduate, intern, military graduate, but not having defended their thesis - 1,700 Roubles for each year of study.
- (b) From those who have been awarded the degree of Candidate of Science, 5,400 Roubles.
- (c) From those who have been awarded the degree of Doctor of Science (besides the amount stipulated in sub-paragraph "b" of the present paragraph), 7,200 Roubles.

3. The following citizens of the USSR, leaving for permanent residence abroad, being post-graduates, interns and military graduates also having a corresponding degree, are exempted from the stipulation in paragraphs 1 and 2 of the present instructions concerning reimbursement of government expenses for their training in higher educational institutions;

- (a) Invalids of the first and second group - in full. Invalids of the third group may be exempted from reimbursement to the degree of 50%.
- (b) Men over 60 and women over 55 in full.
- (c) Men having a record of service of work not less than 25, 15 and 8 years, and women having a record of service of work not less than 20, 12 and 6 years - to the extent of 75%, 50% and 25% respectively.
- (d) Those persons who, having studied in a higher educational institution, post-graduates and military graduates without discontinuing their work - to the amount of 50%.
- (e) Those persons, having entered into marriage with citizens of foreign countries - to the amount of 25% to 50%, with regard to their material position but having entered into marriage from 3 August 1972 onward in full.
- (f) Those persons, having completed study at a higher educational institution as an external student, and also having received the degree of Candidate of Science without having finished the course as a post-graduate, intern or military graduate - to the amount of 75%.

Citizens of the USSR leaving for permanent residence in developing countries, can be exempted from repayment of expenditure on education and the receiving of a degree in addition to the amounts of the reduction of the repayment of expenditure, stipulated in the present paragraph of the Instruction, to the extent of up to 70%, and persons,

.../3.

entering into marriage with citizens of these countries, to the extent of up to 80%, and in separate cases - completely.

Partial or complete exemption from the repayment of expenditure on education and the receiving of a degree is effected by the Ministry of Finance of the USSR with the participation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR with other valid reasons, being taken into account.

4. The acceptance of a sum of money, as indicated in points 1 - 3 of the present instruction, is effected by departments of the State Bank of the USSR, for inclusion in the revenue of the Union budget.

5. Official registration and payment for exit visas of those leaving for permanent residence overseas, is effected by organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR after the presentation by the persons indicated, of the receipts, issued by departments of the State Bank of the USSR for the payment of monetary sums in reimbursement of state expenditure for their education.

6. The present instructions do not apply to Soviet citizens leaving for permanent domicile in socialist countries.

MINISTRY OF FINANCE
OF THE USSR

MINISTRY OF HIGHER
AND SPECIALISED
SECONDARY EDUCATION
OF THE USSR

MINISTRY OF
INTERNAL AFFAIRS
OF THE USSR

DECREE OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR

Concerning the reimbursement by citizens of the USSR leaving for permanent residence abroad, of government expenditure for their training.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR resolves :

To establish, that citizens of the USSR leaving for permanent residence abroad (excepting those leaving for socialist countries) are obliged to repay government expenses for their training in higher educational institutions, in post-graduate work, internship, or in post-graduate military work having a corresponding degree.

The rates and conditions of repayment of state expenses are determined by a directive of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. N. Podgorny

Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. M. Georgadze

The Kremlin,
Moscow, 3 August 1972.

No. 3198

Spare 39
69

Ratified by a resolution of the
Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.
on 3 August 1972

No. 573

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Other Universities	6.0	1.2	2.4	3.6	4.8	-
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Economic, legal, pedagogical, historic-archival institutes and institutes of culture	4.5	0.9	1.8	2.7	3.6	-
Institutes and faculties of foreign languages	6.8	1.4	2.8	4.1	5.5	-
Institutes of art (conservatories, theatrical, art and literary)	9.6	1.9	3.8	5.7	7.7	-

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- (a) From those who studied as a post-graduate, intern, military graduate, but not having defended their thesis - 1,700 Roubles for each year of study.
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- (c) Men having a record of service of work not less than 25, 15 and 8 years, and women having a record of service of work not less than 20, 12 and 6 years - to the extent of 75%, 50% and 25% respectively.
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MINISTRY OF FINANCE
OF THE USSR

MINISTRY OF HIGHER
AND SPECIALISED
SECONDARY EDUCATION
OF THE USSR

MINISTRY OF
INTERNAL AFFAIRS
OF THE USSR

66

DECREE OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR

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President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. N. Podgorny

Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. M. Georgadze

The Kremlin,
Moscow, 3 August 1972.

No. 3198

S. Timm
FEBRUARY 4 1973

John 201/4/2 37
News 9 65

Scandal of the Jews who want to return to Russia

By Nicholas Carroll

Vienna

IN A WORKING-CLASS area in the northern part of Vienna, a mile beyond the Danube Canal, there is a dilapidated four-storey tenement house in Malz Gasse where about 100 Russian Jews are living—men, women, children, babies, all waiting for Soviet permits to return to Russia. Some have been there more than two years, some only a few days.

Last month this little community got a lot of publicity when a small number of them interrupted a governmental Press conference given in connection with arrangements for the transit of Russian Jews from Russia through Vienna to Israel.

The Malz Gasse group struck a highly discordant note. They focused attention on the fact that while Jewish organisations in the West were working tirelessly to help Jews to leave Russia and make it to Israel, they had nothing but scorn and resentment for the tiny proportion of Russian Jews who wanted to go back to their families and friends in Russia because life in Israel had proved more than they could stand.

I visited the mini-ghetto at No. 1 Malz Gasse last week. In the entrance I was met by four men who said firmly that I could not talk to anyone unless a representative of the Communist official newspaper *Die Volkstimme* (Voice of the People) accompanied me and my photographer. When I tried to brush them aside they became more insistent. Short of a stand-up fight there was no getting inside.

On the face of it, the frequent assertions by Israelis that Russia was using the disappointed Jews for propaganda seemed to be only too true. It looked as though the party newspaper was censoring all interviews and photographs.

The truth turned out to be very different. My photographer eventually got a reporter from *Die Volkstimme* to come with us to Malz Gasse. When the Russian Jews in the building saw him



Outside No 1 Malz Gasse, Russian mother in limbo

with us, their whole manner changed. They became friendly, allowed pictures to be taken, and talked freely.

The *Volkstimme* man told us that the initiative for a local Communist presence during foreign Press interviews came from the Russian Jews in Malz Gasse, not from party headquarters, *Die Volkstimme* or the Soviet Embassy. The Jews demanded it as a form of protection. The *Volkstimme* man took no part in my conversations, did not even listen to them; nor did he interfere in the photography.

Afterwards one of the Jews, Reuben Berman, a middle-aged electrical fitter who left Riga three years ago, explained: "We have had bad experiences with Press interviews. Some of our people lost their jobs when they were seen on television or in newspaper pictures. We are not Communists we are not Zionists, nor anti-Zionists; we are just Jewish people who want to go back to our families in Russia after making a big mistake by leaving in the first place."

"Only the Soviet authorities can give us back our Soviet citizenship and permission to return. If the Soviet officials read something in the foreign Press about us that they don't like, they could say to us: 'so, you are giving interviews to your English friends. All right, you get them

to help you to get to Russia, and don't bother us.'"

"But if a representative of the Communist newspaper was present when we were interviewed by a foreign journalist, that would be all right."

Among the inhabitants of Malz Gasse it is the grown-ups who are miserable, homesick, despairing. A driver from Tchernovietz, southern Russia, told me: "For us it is Russia or death." This clearly is the motto for all those over 30.

Last month a shaft of hope brightened their spirits. The Soviet Embassy suddenly announced that 12 of them could return to Russia. But most of the men and women still there seem to realise it may be months, perhaps years, before they can all return.

For the children it is rather different. One girl said: "My father was a lawyer in Moscow, my mother a librarian. But when they got to Israel they could not do what they were trained to do. My father was a labourer in an alcohol factory, and for eight hours a day had to carry 40 lb loads about. He is nearly 50 and could not stand it."

"But I learnt Hebrew very quickly, and got on well at school. I am not so keen on going back to Russia, but I will stay with my parents. There are plus and minus aspects of capitalism and communism."

The head of the department at the Austrian Home Ministry responsible for the transient Jews told me: "These particular Jews came into Austria as a result of carelessness by our frontier control people, but once in we would not turn them back."

"They are Israeli citizens, but the Israelis are not interested in them. They are free to live and work here, and most of them do work. If they became destitute, or ill, our social services would look after them. We try to prevent others coming in from Israel on the temporary travel documents they get, but some are bound to skip through. We are sorry for them, but their problems are not really our concern."

What ought to be established is whose concern they really are. After spending several hours talking with them, I am convinced they are not voluntary or paid propaganda tools of the Soviet Union. They were attracted to Israel by what they heard and read about it. When they eventually got there, they disliked what they found.

They have not committed a crime by wanting to return. But, as one of them told me, "You would think we had done so. We are hated by the Zionists here in Vienna, who come round and try to make trouble. We cannot understand why the Soviet Union will not take us back."

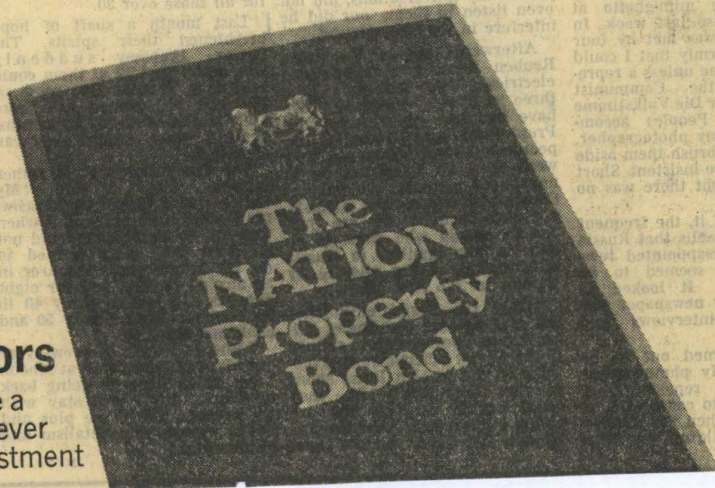
This is perhaps the most puzzling thing of all. It should be pretty obvious that if Moscow wanted to score a propaganda point against the "Zionists" they should take all the inhabitants of the Malz Gasse mini-ghetto back to Russia, make sure they were all settled comfortably, and then publicise the result.

Malz Gasse at the moment is a standing reproach to Western Jewry. It should be eliminated, the building pulled down; the luckless inmates should be helped by Jewish organisations, which are not short of money, to live in better conditions until the Soviet Union gets round to realising that it, too, was party to a pointless crime against this tiny slice of humanity.

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2011/4/2. 36
64

Educated Jews feel squeeze

by LAJOS LEDERER

"Observer" 11/2/73.

THE NEW regulations governing the emigration of Russian Jews, though relaxing the rules in some respects, have brought no relief to those who received higher or specialised education and have applied to leave for Israel.

The new decree eased the education tax imposed on Soviet Jews last August, providing full exemption for invalids and pensioners, but the scales are still prohibitive for those with special skills whom the Soviet Union does not wish to lose. Charges can still amount to between £5,000 and £10,000 in certain cases.

Although it was announced on 29 December that it was no longer illegal to seek permission to emigrate, this concession has not been made retrospective. Those Jews who lost their jobs before the announcement for seeking to emigrate have so far not been reinstated.

// not new!

Mr Greville Janner, MP, hon. secretary of the all-party Parliamentary Committee for the release of Soviet Jewry, who has been in touch with leading Moscow Jews in the past two days, says: 'Jews applying for exit visas are, as before, dismissed from work and unjustified refusals are usual. Many families are in a tragic situation. Exit visas have been granted to them, but they cannot leave because they cannot pay the education tax.'

It is not known how many Jews who wish to emigrate are affected by the education tax. There are about 500,000 Jews in Russia—out of a total Jewish population of three million—who have had higher or specialised education. Of these, only about 50,000 had opted to leave the country for Israel. This number has rapidly increased recently because of the feeling of alarm and insecurity.

The chairman of the Jewish Agency, Mr L. Pinkas, predicted in Jerusalem last week that more Jews than ever would arrive in Israel from the Soviet Union in 1973. The total in 1972 was 32,000; this figure is expected to double this year.

vague?



DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

File 69/2/5/7
Memo No.: 54

7th February, 1973.



The Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW

U.S.S.R. : JEWISH EMIGRATION

You should have received by now Washington's memoranda 251 and 281 of 23 and 25 January 1973 about the decree recently published by the Soviet authorities requiring emigrants to refund the costs of their higher education.

2. We should appreciate any additional details which you can provide on this latest development. Is it possible to get an English translation of the text of the decree? We understand that the periodical "New Times" has also an article by W. Katin on this matter.


(P.F. Peters)
Acting Assistant Secretary

Seen by Ambassador 16/2.

P



EMBASSY OF AUSTRALIA



34
62

IN REPLY QUOTE: 221/9/8

Memorandum No. 281/73

25th January, 1973.

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.

USSR : Jewish Emigration

(Your file 69/2/5/7)

Please refer to our memorandum No. 251 of 23 January, 1973, about the publication by the USSR authorities of the decree requiring emigrants to refund the costs of their higher education.

.... 2. We now enclose an article from the "New York Times" of 24 January reporting that the USSR authorities have now made public the detailed regulations and scale of fees to be paid by emigrants in repayment of the costs of their higher education. The regulations and scale of fees evidently appeared in the first issue for 1973 of an official gazette entitled "Collection of Decrees of the Government of the USSR".

3. A copy of this memorandum, with attachment, has been sent to Moscow.

(David Sadleir)
Counsellor

Copy:

Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW.

Memo No. 28/73

For information.

(David Sadleir)
Counsellor

① Ambassador -

He reported this briefly by SW/gram. We have copy of the regulations and are translating it.

② Mr Gapes

③ R/S Lowys with translation

Soviet Publishes Fees for Emigration

By THEODORE SHABAD

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Jan. 23—The Soviet Union followed up the publication of its controversial immigration law today by making public the detailed regulations and the scale of fees to be paid by emigrants as reimbursement for a free higher education.

The scale provided an interesting indicator of the value placed by the Soviet authorities on different types of advanced training for which those who leave the country must provide reimbursement.

The tax duties ostensibly apply to all emigrants, but critics have interpreted their introduction as being directed mainly against Jews, more than 30,000 of whom left the country last year.

The growing exodus of Jews to Israel accounts for most of the strictly controlled emigration from the Soviet Union. Moreover, Jews constitute the most highly educated ethnic community in this country.

At the top of the tax scale is Moscow University, the most prestigious of Soviet institutions of higher learning, where the four-year course of studies was said to cost the Government 12,200 rubles, or \$14,900. All other universities were rated at half that amount.

Among specialized colleges, the highest value, and evidently social prestige, was placed on education in a music conservatory, theatrical institute or other advanced school in the arts and letters. Teachers' colleges and law schools were among those at the bottom of the list, with the cost rated at 4,500 rubles.

Publication of the emigration law and now of the detailed regulations has been taken here as an indication that the Kremlin has no intention of backing down in the face of wide criticism, especially from abroad, of the education fees imposed on emigrants.

Although the regulations have been in effect since last August, they were not immediately published. This was variously interpreted as reflecting disagreement at a high level over the education fees or as a means of enabling the authorities to cancel the tax without losing face.

Soviet officials have defended the Government's right to impose a tax on the ground that the authorities are entitled to a refund for the costs of higher

education provided free by the country.

Under the published regulations, emigrants are given credit for the number of years worked after graduation, and pensioners as well as disabled veterans are exempt from the tax.

These and some other provisions of the law were disclosed just before the new year in a statement by a high police official, but many of the actual fees have now been announced for the first time in the published pay scale.

The scale was drafted in the form of a Government directive carrying out a basic decree on the education tax that was adopted Aug. 3 but was not published until last weekend.

The detailed directive has now appeared in the first issue for 1973 of an official gazette called Collection of Decrees of the Government of the U.S.S.R. The Government order, issued over the signature of Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin, was also dated Aug. 3 and was identified as No. 573. In addition to listing the amounts due for complete and partial college educations, it also listed fees for the award of post-graduate degrees.

Graduate students would owe 1,700 rubles for every year of post-graduate study, or 5,400 rubles if their effort was crowned by the so-called candidates degree, roughly equivalent to the American Ph. D.



EMBASSY OF AUSTRALIA



IN REPLY QUOTE: 221/9/8

Memorandum No. 251/73
23rd January, 1973

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA

USSR : Jewish Emigration
(Your file 69/2/5/7)

Please refer to our telegram No. 355 of 23 January, 1973, in which we referred, inter alia, to the publication by the USSR authorities of the decree requiring emigrants to refund the costs of their higher education.

2. We now enclose articles from the "New York Times" of 21 January and the "Washington Post" of 23 January commenting on the publication of the decree. The "Washington Post" article includes a brief commentary on the attitudes of Senators to the decree and to a proposal submitted by Senator Henry Jackson which would prevent approval of the new trade arrangements with the USSR until such time as the decree is rescinded

3. Copies of this memorandum with attachments have been sent to Moscow, Tel Aviv and the Australian Mission to the United Nations, New York.

(David Sadleir)
Counsellor

The Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW Memorandum No. 26/73

For your information.

for *David Sadleir*
(David Sadleir)
Counsellor

① Ambassador 3/2

② R/S, P. 1/5

① Mr. Gass
Can you let me have trans. of the
tax "table" (or some of it) today? I will
then complete memo I did last week & also
do a bit for the Salt gram.

② File 201-4-2

WASHINGTON POST 28/1/72 Soviets Publish Emigration Tax Law

By Dusko Doder

Washington Post Staff Writer

After a five-month delay, the Soviet Union has published its controversial law on emigration taxes. The move is likely to bring it into a major confrontation with the U.S. Congress.

A protracted congressional battle over the recently concluded Soviet-American trade agreement now seems virtually certain.

Publication of the text signaled that Moscow has no intentions of rescinding high exit fees on educated Soviet citizens. The measure affects mainly Jews seeking to emigrate to Israel.

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) said yesterday that the Soviet tax remains "totally unacceptable." He said he intends to push an amendment that would effectively bar implementation of key provisions of the Soviet-American trade pact.

"As long as emigration is prevented, by ransom taxes and other measures, we will use the votes we have to amend" the trade accord, Jackson said in a statement.

Jackson and 75 other senators co-sponsored an amendment last October that would bar extension of credits, credit guarantees or most-favored-nation status to the Soviet Union as long as it denies its citizens the right of emigration and imposes more than a "nominal tax" on those permitted to emigrate.

At that time, U.S. officials voiced hope that since the so-called "diploma tax" was not

made public, the Russians may decide to either remove it or make significant reductions in its pay schedule.

Such speculation ended with the Soviet government's decision to publish the text of the law in the latest issue of the Bulletin of the Supreme Soviet.

The Soviet-American trade agreement was signed here last Oct. 18. It provides for Export-Import Bank credits and credit guarantees for sales of goods to the Soviet Union; an extension of the "most favored nation" treatment—which means lowest regular tariff rates—on imports of Soviet goods; a settlement of World War II Lend-Lease debts, and other measures to pave the way for a considerable increase in Soviet-U.S. commerce.

The entire package now faces problems on Capitol Hill. Under the "diploma tax," educated Soviet Jews have to pay up to \$25,000 before being allowed to leave for Israel.

When adopted last August, the tax provided for across-the-board fees from prospective emigrants as reimbursement for the education they received at government-financed schools and universities.

After widespread criticism abroad, the Soviets amended the measure by exempting pensioners and disabled persons and by instituting a graduated fee schedule. Moreover, during the U.S. presidential election campaign, Moscow waived tax requirements on a number of Jews.

Although specific pay scales and conditions have not yet been published, the essence of the modified Soviet regulations was disclosed by Deputy Interior Minister B. T. Shumilin last month. He said men who have worked for 25, 15 and 8 years and women who have worked for 20, 12 and 8 years "are freed from refunding the cost [of their education] by respectively 75, 50 and 25 per cent."

The publication of the law and its modifications were seen here as an attempt to appease Western critics and erode support for the Jackson amendment.

But congressional and administration sources said Moscow would have to make more concessions to bring about any significant weakening of the Jackson coalition. So far, there have been no known defections among the senators who originally sponsored the measure.

Some senators are known to be torn between their interest in easing the plight of Soviet Jewry and their desire to see increased East-West trade.

The Jackson amendment was attached last October to a bill that would liberalize East-West trade. Jackson aides said the amendment could be tacked onto any other measure dealing with Soviet trade.

The Russians are known to be anxious to develop commercial relations with the United States and to gain access to U.S. technology. This, however, cannot be done without U.S. credits and easing of

out U.S. credits and easing of tariffs on Soviet imports.

Despite the emigration tax, more than 32,000 Soviet Jews have emigrated to Israel during 1972 and officials expect the exodus to continue. Most of those allowed to leave were without higher education.

Soviet Officially Adopts Education Exit Fee

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Jan. 20 — The Soviet leadership, after five months of hesitation, officially adopted a law on emigrants the law of the land today.

Publication of the text in a record of legislative acts appeared to put an end to persistent speculation that the Kremlin might still back down and abrogate the high exit fee in face of widespread criticism abroad, particularly among Jewish groups in the United States.

The tax has affected mainly Jews, who represent the majority of those seeking emigration and at the same time are the most highly educated ethnic group in the Soviet Union. However, many emigrants never went to college or have been able to pay the fee, so that the Jewish exodus last year rose to more than 30,000.

The possibility of a change in the unpublished emigration law had been stimulated in part by its spotty enforcement particularly during the Presidential election campaign in the United States. Waivers granted at that time were interpreted as a gesture to aid President Nixon in his election campaign.

The Soviet Government's decision to publish the text of the law also seemed to sharpen a potential confrontation with the United States Congress, where a majority of Senators have sponsored a resolution asserting that they would block a Soviet-American trade accord

unless the tax was rescinded.

When members of a Congressional delegation headed by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey raised the tax issue here recently in a talk with Premier Alexei N. Kosygin, they were reported to have been rebuffed on the ground that this was a Soviet internal matter.

The Soviet leadership apparently decided to publish the tax law after having made some modifications in the hope that these changes would make the exit fee more acceptable to opponents in the West. The modifications were designed to reduce the tax in proportion to the number of years of employment. Pensioners and disabled veterans became totally exempt.

The brief text of the emigration decree, dated Aug. 3, 1972, when it was adopted, appeared in the latest issue of the Bulletin of the Supreme Soviet. The issue, the last of 1972, was dated Dec. 27 and reached subscribers today.

Signed by Podgorny

The decree, signed by President Nikolai V. Podgorny as chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, said: "Citizens of the U.S.S.R. who leave for permanent residence abroad—except for those moving to socialist countries—are required to repay Government expenditures for their training in an institution of higher education, postgraduate studies, medical internship and advanced military education and for the award of corresponding academic degrees."

A footnote explained that Government order setting forth the specific pay scales and conditions would appear in the forthcoming first number for 1973 of yet another official gazette, the Collection of Decrees of the Government of the U.S.S.R.

The gist of these regulations was disclosed just before the new year by a police official in a statement given to Novosti Press Agency, a feature service. The statement disclosed for the first time that the emigration pay scale was being adjusted to length of employment.

The theory is that Soviet college graduates, by their length of service, in effect work off the Government's initial investment in their free education. However, a Jewish statement circulated here among Western newsmen contends that even the graduated scale is far beyond the ability of most Soviet citizens to pay.

The statement, by Grigory I. Teitelbaum, a retired journalist, puts the average education tax, before credit for length of service, at 8,000 rubles, the equivalent of \$10,000 at the official rate of exchange.

A young engineer or a young physician, after having worked, say, 12 to 14 years, would owe 75 per cent, or 6,000 rubles. Mr. Teitelbaum, seeking to put this amount in the Soviet context, says it represents the total earnings of the engineer

over a period of five years or those of the young doctor over six years "assuming he does not use a kopeck for food, for his apartment or for living expenses."

It represents an amount that "none of them, if living on earned income, would be able to accumulate even over a period of 25 years," Mr. Teitelbaum contends.



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32

181/12/5

File No.

181/4/7

57

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Record of Conversation with H.E. Mr Moshe Erell, Ambassador of Israel

on 10 November, 1972

Officers Present Mr B.C. Hill, First Assistant Secretary, Pacific and Western Division.

MAIN SUBJECTS (S): ARAB RESOLUTIONS AT UNGA: JEWS IN USSR, IRAQ AND SYRIA:
THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION

The Ambassador called for a general talk before leaving Canberra on 11 November to visit New Zealand.

UNGA - ARAB RESOLUTIONS

2. Mr Erell said he had had a long talk with Dr Cumes about resolutions coming up at the United Nations General Assembly and he need not cover the same ground in detail. He did wish to stress to me, however, the cumulative effect of the resolutions adopted year by year, conceding inch by inch Arab positions against Israel, particularly in respect of Palestinian "rights", the occupied territories etc. The Ambassador maintained that these resolutions provided some sort of justification in the minds of Arab extremists for the acts of terrorism now plaguing the world. He felt that countries like Australia should keep this in mind when deciding not to oppose such resolutions.

TREATMENT OF JEWS -(a) in the Soviet Union

3. The Ambassador said that Israel was puzzled by recent Soviet behaviour in respect of permitting Jews to leave the Soviet Union and also by the inconsistency with which the education reimbursements were being levied on Jews leaving the Soviet Union. Israel firmly believed that the criticism of the Soviet Union that had been voiced in many countries and directly to the Soviet authorities had had a considerable effect. He expressed his deep appreciation for the action which the Australian authorities had taken in this respect, particularly the Australian Foreign Minister's mention of this matter both to the Soviet Ambassador in Canberra and to the

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Report prepared by

(B.C. Hill)

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56

2

Soviet Foreign Minister in New York. Israel believed that such representations were of tremendous value.

(b) in Iraq and Syria

4. In this context the Ambassador wished to mention the concern of the Government of Israel about recent recurrences of anti-Jewish activities in both Iraq and Syria. In both countries things had in recent years been much better and the Governments of Iraq and Syria had allowed several hundreds of Jews to leave their countries. There were now only about 300-400 Jews left in Iraq and perhaps even fewer in Syria. It was at this stage when numbers were small that discrimination against Jews could become particularly vicious. The Israelis had heard recently of eight Jews having been arrested in Iraq and one Jew had been killed- allegedly "resisting arrest". ~~Since the arrests, Israel's information was that two more of the eight had been killed.~~

5. Regarding Syria the Israel authorities were disturbed about some Jewish girls having been arrested recently - allegedly having been found in a frontier zone. There was an unconfirmed report that these girls had been released.

6. Meanwhile Israel would be grateful if relevant Australian missions should be informed of this since an opportunity might occur to mention these matters in the course of conversation and again Israel believed that a considerable effect on the Governments concerned could be achieved.

7. I told the Ambassador that I would record what he had said.

THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION

7. In a brief reference, Mr Erell spoke rather optimistically about prospects of peace in the Middle East if everybody really put their minds to it - as seemed to be happening widely at present (e.g. Vietnam, Germany, Korea). He believed the time was not quite ripe in the Middle East but it could be fairly soon. The starting point should be agreement on Israel's withdrawal from the Suez Canal with other things (short of complete withdrawal) to follow.

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The K... in allowed 32,000 Soviet Jew... emigrate to Israel last year, more than double the total for 1971. Before that the trickle was never above 3,000. The Jewish Agency hopes to bring between 40,000 and 50,000 this year.

The Soviet Union is now the only source of large-scale immigration for Israel. It is valued for demographic reasons (keeping up the ratio of Jews to Arabs), Zionist reasons (the ingathering of the exiles), and ultimately for social reasons (a high proportion of educated newcomers with a European, if not a "Western" outlook).

Mr Arye Pincus, the chairman of the Zionist executive, reported at the end of the year that the number of Jews coming here to settle from America went down in 1972 from 8,200 to 5,800. France showed a similar decline from 3,200 to 2,200, and Britain from 1,400 to 1,000. It looks as if the American revival, inspired by the Jewish emotions of 1967 and the growth of Negro anti-semitism, is tailing off.

Israeli analysts have taken heart from an interview given recently by the Soviet Deputy Minister of the Interior Mr Boris Shumilin. It was released through the Novosti news agency, a familiar channel for soft-sell propaganda. The interview was not published in the Soviet Union.

None the less as the first public statement by a member of the Kremlin hierarchy on current policy towards would-be emigrants with professional and academic qualifications it is read here as a sign that the Russians are worried about the international campaign against the stiff levy imposed on such applicants since August.

Mr Shumilin said that there was nothing illegal about people wanting to go abroad (a message which will no doubt find its devious way back to the Soviet Union). Although he implied that he was simply reporting on an existing

Reunion at Tel-Aviv

Soviet exodus becomes a flood

by Eric Silver
in Jerusalem

situation, the Minister was actually announcing a new and more lenient policy. Jews who have worked in their professions — and presumably thereby repaid some of the cost of their education — will in future be allowed to leave after paying a reduced levy.

Invalids and pensioners (men over 60 and women over 55) will be exempt. Men with 25, 15, and 8 years' service, and women with 20, 12 and 6, will be granted a reduction of 75 per cent, 50 per cent, and 25 per cent respectively.

The burden will still be heavy. An engineer with 15 years' work behind him would have to pay about 4,000 roubles under the new scale. If his wife is a teacher, who has worked for 12 years, she too would have to pay 4,000 roubles. Each of them also would have to find 900 roubles for a passport. Their joint monthly salary in the Soviet Union would probably be about 220 roubles.

Mr Shumilin balanced his concession with a resonantly ambiguous phrase. "We shall have to consider the financial status of



various people," he said. "Then perhaps they will be free." Since "financial status" was not defined, this is seen here as a licence to threaten or buy off the trouble-some Jewish activists. People who cannot afford to pay the levy may go free, if they behave themselves.

The tax has been applied arbitrarily in the past. Just before the American election in November, 250 families were allowed to leave for Israel without paying. Then there was an interval of six weeks when almost everyone with higher education had to pay. Since December 18, when up to 100 Jews were detained for threatening to lobby the Supreme Soviet, 530 professionals and their families have received exemptions. The figure is Mr Shumilin's, but it is not disputed here. The last batch includes Viktor Perelman, an eminent Soviet journalist, who is expected to leave shortly.

It is impossible to know how many of the three million Soviet Jews would come here if the doors were opened without qualifications. According to the Jewish Agency,

however, 120,000 have taken the first step of applying for an affidavit from a "relative" in Israel. (Emigration is still presented as a matter of family reunions.) This in itself is hazardous enough, since it is a common experience for Jews to lose their jobs just for asking.

The puzzle of why the Kremlin has suddenly started to let any Jew leave is still being debated here. The best theory is that after a spate of petitions and demonstrations in 1970 the Russians tried first to squash the Jewish movement, then to neutralise it. Both approaches boomeranged. The Jews were only provoked to demand more exit permits. World opinion — mainly, but not exclusively, Jewish — rallied to their side at a moment when the Soviet Union needed a rapprochement with the West, and was therefore vulnerable to pressure.

The Russians tended to divide the Jews into two categories. First there were the "unreliable" and perhaps "expedient" Jews of Georgia and the Baltic States. These were people who had never

been assimilated into Soviet society, or had been Soviet citizens only since the Second World War. In either case, they had retained a distinctive Jewish culture and links with Jews abroad.

The educated Jews of the Soviet heartland were a different proposition. The policy at first was to let the fringe Jews go, but to screw down the lid on the engineers, doctors, scientists, and professors of Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev. To the evident astonishment of the Kremlin, these privileged sons of the Russian Revolution refused to take no for an answer. They wanted to go to Israel (or perhaps just to get out of the Soviet Union), and they were prepared to suffer for it.

The academic levy was one desperate response. Its purpose was not to raise foreign currency. Those 600 who have paid had raised the money within the Soviet Union, usually by selling their domestic assets and borrowing from other Jews. Its purpose was to deter. To some extent it succeeded. The proportion of Jewish artisans to Jewish intellectuals coming out has changed drastically since August.

But the agitation continues, in the Soviet Union and outside. American Congressmen threatened to block the Washington-Moscow trade agreement, including the sale of essential grain to the Russians. The exemptions for some educated Jews at the end of October and beginning of November were a first, improvised reaction.

Israeli officials see an inherent danger for the Soviet Jews who want to leave. Their friends abroad may be lulled into believing that the fight is now over. Didn't the Minister say that all the Jews who wanted to could go? Actually, no. The levy is still there and daunting.

So is the embargo on Jewish scientists and technologists whose work impinges on "security." So are the risks and the sanctions. But that was the impression Mr Shumilin was trying to foster.

sounded we were told that the central power station had been destroyed, and saw a large crowd gathering a quarter of a mile away on the Lei Thuong Kiet, the broad avenue through the diplomatic sector on which the Hoa Binh Hotel fronts.

A bomb had landed immediately behind the Cuban Embassy, wrecking several large residential buildings and blowing out most of the windows of the embassy itself. The shelters had served well and, in spite of the extensive destruction, there was only one fatality and half a dozen injuries. Only a few yards away loomed the stockade of the famed "Hanoi Hilton" for American prisoners, and two blocks farther away was the railway station, the main building now in ruins. In all probability the bomb at the Cuban Embassy had been intended for the station.

That night and the following morning, the inevitable consequences of using B-52s against targets in the city became tragically apparent. In the An Duong district of north-eastern Hanoi, a low-cost housing development was obliterated by a "carpet" of heavy bombs. The twenty-odd housing units were smashed like match wood, and the viewer had to pick his way along the edges of enormous craters. According to the North Vietnamese there were 261 casualties, of which 134 were fatal.

Bach Mai, at the southern end of the city, is the site of the largest hospital and medical research centre in North Vietnam. It is an extensive complex of buildings and grounds, lying about a mile and a half south of the railway station and half a mile north of the small Bach Mai airfield. We were told that individual buildings of the hospital had been hit in June 1972 and again on December 19, but the raid early in the morning of December 20, when B-52s unloaded a carpet of heavy bombs that covered the entire complex, wreaked virtually total destruction.

In spite of the concentration of the attack, it is impossible for me to believe that the hospital was the target of the raid, which was probably directed at the airfield and nearby barracks and oil storage units. By great good fortune the patients had been moved to safety before the bombing, but it was reported that about 25 members of the hospital staff, including a doctor and 15 nurses, had been killed.

Meanwhile the defenders' "SAM" missiles had struck down a number of B-52s,

and their crews were parachuting into Hanoi and its environs. Beginning on December 19 there were daily showings of captured American airmen at so-called "press conferences," but no communication with them was permitted. Foreign observers were, however, permitted to visit a group of 13 prisoners of war held in a small enclosure in the south-western part of the city, some of whom were reliably reported to have suffered slight injuries from bomb blast.

By the end of the first week of bombing a new wave of evacuation was well under way. Buses were assembled at various collection points for those who could not make their own way to the country. Trucks were hired by groups of families, and others went by bicycle or even on foot. A frequent sight was a pedicab with grandmother, small children, and bundles of possessions, trundling out of the city to some refuge with relatives or friends.

In the city, many shops closed, and the traffic dwindled to a fraction of its previous volume. According to semi-official reports, by Christmas Day Hanoi was 75 to 80 per cent evacuated. Not all of the evacuees found flight the road to safety, for the bombers were operating over the adjacent provinces, and it was officially reported (and confirmed to me by relatives of some of the

victims) that on December 23 there were heavy casualties in two villages west of Hanoi, and that some of the wounded evacuees had to be brought back to hospitals in the city.

Sunday, the day before Christmas, brought some relief from the bombing. At seven o'clock that evening, Dean Michael Allen of the Yale divinity school conducted a Christmas Eve service in the lobby of the Hoa Binh Hotel, dramatically interrupted by a low-flying aircraft, alert during the Lord's Prayer. In spite of this untimely intrusion, there was a general belief that the city would not be bombed on Christmas Eve, and a midnight mass was read in Hanoi Cathedral, which was filled to overflowing.

Christmas Day and night were quiet, but the heavy bombardments that followed more than compensated for the respite. During the night of December 26-27, B-52s laid a "carpet" beside the busy Kham Thien thoroughfare, a few blocks south-west of the railway station, in the heart of Hanoi's "native" district. The dwellings here are, by Western standards, shacks and shanties, and the flimsy structures disintegrated and flew in all directions under the weight of the bombs and the force of the blast.

But for the evacuation and the shelters

Bomb damage in Hanoi



the toll would have been frigid and notwithstanding these precautions there were 215 reported deaths and 257 casualties. Many acres of closely packed houses were razed and cratered, and the whole area was a scene of desperate misery, with many survivors loudly lamenting the loss of their kin, as they picked through the rubble.

The Vietnamese are an emotional people, affectionate with each other, and family ties are very close. The deep grief of bereavement is matched by delight at finding a loved one safe, and these bombed districts are the scene of poignantly joyful encounters as well as hysterical surrenders to grief. But those who have suffered no personal bereavement are, by now, remarkably adjusted to the constant strain of the bombardments, especially the children, who have grown up under them and take them for granted. As in Britain 30 years ago, today in Hanoi there is lots of "London pride."

A remarkable feature of the Vietnamese reaction is the lack of animus against individual Americans. The controlled press is full of denunciation of the "imperialist war criminals," but there is no effort to inflame the public against the captured airmen. Their enemy is highly personalised — there was a "Johnson war" and now there is a "Nixon war," and the villains of the propaganda posters are the President and the B-52s, not the Americans as a people. Through hours of clambering over bomb rubble among hordes of Vietnamese, easily identifiable as an English-speaking foreigner, I heard no word of reproach, and encountered only smiles and sorrow.

It seemed apparent from the outset that evacuation and air raid discipline would keep the casualty rate remarkably low, and this proved to be the case. My estimate on departure was that in Hanoi some 2,000 had been killed, but this figure, according to North Vietnam's official report released on January 4, was half again too high.

By the standards of the Second World War these casualties do not loom large, and the revulsion this observer felt resulted not so much from the statistical consequences as from the lack of any credible justification for the assault and the senselessness of using a blunderbuss like the B-52 at such close quarters that wholly unnecessary destruction and slaughter were bound to result.

(C) 1973 Telford Taylor

Retrieved.

file

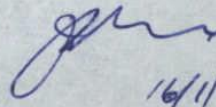
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Emigration

From Mrs. Mahoney 16/1/73.

- ① Aust. "Operation Reunion" scheme does not involve many Jews; mostly uneducated and/or elderly people.
- ②. There have been two cases known of people going to Aust having to pay "education tax" one £7000 one £4,000.
- ③. Generally difficulty of getting ~~exit~~ visas varies from Republic to Republic. Georgians have no problem - pre-Baltics do.


16/1/73

29

H.T. 17/1/73

53

Newsweek Man Gets Reprimand From Russians

MOSCOW, Jan. 16 (UPI).—Soviet authorities yesterday summoned Jay Axelbank, Newsweek magazine's Moscow correspondent, and accused him of distributing anti-Soviet literature and breaking local traffic regulations.

Mr. Axelbank said Fyodor S. Fedorenko of the Foreign Ministry's Press Office, after making the charges, warned him, "If this continues, we will have to reconsider your accreditation." Foreign journalists have to be accredited by the Foreign Ministry to work here.

"I firmly denied the charges," said Mr. Axelbank. "I think this a transparent pressure tactic because of some of the recent newsweek stories about the Soviet Union." He said Mr. Fedorenko did not mention the Newsweek articles.

Mr. Axelbank said the ministry told him its allegations were based on police reports. They included making an illegal U-turn, breaking a light bulb in his apartment entrance passage and tossing unspecified subversive literature out the window of his car, he said.

File 201-4-2

man tells
Russian
camp ordeal

By Christopher Sweeney
After two years in a Soviet labour camp, Miss Raiza Palatnik yesterday met for the first time the group whose consistent and sometimes spectacular campaign led to her being allowed to leave Russia.

Miss Palatnik, a librarian, aged 36, was the central figure in an 18-month campaign organized by members of the Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry. She was arrested in December, 1970, and held for interrogation in a dungeon for five months before being sent to the camp for "systematic slander of the Soviet Government".

Speaking through an interpreter in London yesterday she said she had been held with two other women in a small underground cell with no heating through the bitter Russian winter.

"The filth and dirt were unimaginable, there was no elec-

tric light at all, just a tiny window high up in the wall blocked by bars. We were allowed one hour's exercise a day.

"The only water came from that which ran down the walls. We were taken out for interrogation in the mornings and questioned for hours."

In May, 1971, five months after Miss Palatnik's arrest, the Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry organized a 24-hour vigil by candlelight outside the Soviet Embassy in London. Immediately after reports of the vigil appeared in the British press, she was moved to a prison above ground.

Her parents were allowed to visit her and they were asked by the KGB (secret police): "What is all the fuss about in London?"

Within a month she was tried and sentenced to two years in the strict regime camp at Dneprodzerzhinsk, in the Ukraine. Miss Palatnik said that although she was charged with possessing books about Jewish history and songs and poems by Jews killed in the 1950s in Russia, the real reason for her trial was her desire to emigrate to Israel.

In the camp she suffered severe malnutrition, blindness and partial paralysis. She worked making gloves and says she was subjected to continual antisemitic abuse and harassment by the other prisoners.

"I was in a criminal camp with 1,100 or 1,200 women—some murderers, prostitutes and thieves. The antisemitic attitude of the Soviet Government was reflected in the attitudes of the prisoners. They tried to beat me up when I refused to do more than the normal work."

"There were some other Jews in the camp but they attempted to hide the fact of their Jewish origin to avoid the attacks."

"I was able to wash myself or my clothes in warm water only once every 10 days."

Shortly before her release about a month ago, she was put on a high starch diet to fatten her up. She left Russia on December 19 and went to Israel to gain Israeli citizenship before coming to London.

The campaign in Britain and the continuous publicity had been instrumental in getting her out of Russia, Miss Palatnik said.

Drive to ease emigration of Soviet Jews

From Our Correspondent
Geneva, Jan 12

Jewish community leaders in 13 countries are to increase their efforts to secure for Soviet Jews the right to emigrate, especially to Israel. In a communiqué issued here after a one-day meeting, they say they will seek greater support in this aim from their governments and among the professions, business and trade unions.

The communiqué points out that while a recent statement by a Soviet deputy minister may be an indication of sensitivity to world public opinion,

"it does not represent any change in basic Soviet policy relating to emigration and the ransom imposed".

Mr Louis Pincus, executive chairman of the World Zionist Organization, said: "On the face of it, there has been an increase in emigration, with 32,000 departures for Israel, in 1972; but over 100,000 Russian Jews are still awaiting a reply to their application to leave."

The "education tax" levied on departing intellectuals was so high that a new graduate would have to work for 30 or 40 years to pay it.

Mr Jack Stein, central presi-

dent of United States Jewish communities, told a news conference that a big effort would be made to push the so-called Jackson amendment in Congress. This would have the effect of preventing the Administration from according the Soviet Union most favoured nation treatment in trade.

Mr Michael Fidler, president of the British Jewish Board of Deputies, said the Soviet authorities' present attitude was "an impediment to the recognition that Russia is a fully civilized country".

Challenge faces Jews, page 14

"Times" 12/1/73

Feb 2014 2

51 27

THE TIMES TUESDAY DECEMBER 19 1972

BERNARD LEVIN

The artistic assassination of Valery Panov

It is, I think, time for a report on the latest situation of those Jews in Russia who have made known their wish to leave their vast prison house, and who are in consequence experiencing persecution, danger and want; it is perhaps especially appropriate that a little more of the reality should be publicly described, now that the Russian authorities are busy putting about stories of their generosity in allowing so many Jews to leave, and even more appropriate that the reality should be described in this paper, the which have so recently been belittled by one of their professional apologists, Mr Alexeev.

There have been further arrests and imprisonments of Jews who have applied for exit visas. Just under a month ago, a group of 18 Jews were rounded up and jailed for 15 days. The next day a further five from a group which had protested at the arrests, were arrested and similarly sentenced. (It is worth mentioning the conditions under which they were imprisoned. Eight people occupied a cell less than 14 feet square; they were not allowed to work; they had a total of three hours exercise in the 15 days; a day's rations consisted of one pound of bread, three lumps of sugar, one plate of watery soup, two plates of thin kasha—a kind of gruel; they were not allowed out of the cell to go to the lavatory; and they were not allowed to buy anything from the prison shop.)

At the same time, there has been an increase in the use of cat-and-mouse methods with the would-be emigrants. First, the submission set up by the Rus-

sian authorities to process the applications for permission to leave (Valentin Prussakov told me about it when I met him in Vienna) has no authority, and applicants are being called repeatedly to the appropriate office merely to be told that permission has been refused. Others have had experiences like that of Andrei Dubrov, who was given a visa in October, but it revoked next day and was told that he was to be conscripted into the army, was then told that he would not be conscripted, after all and had his visa revoked, had this revoked immediately afterwards, was arrested and imprisoned, was told on release that he would get his visa back, and has now been arrested again. Perhaps Mr Alexeev's right to leave Russia, and worse still by the claimants' willingness to have their plight publicised abroad, the Russian authorities can only hope to limit the numbers by showing what applicants face, and by applying to those who are prepared none the less to face it a continuous psychological terror.

Take, as a typical example, Anatoly and Isabella Novikov, who wish to leave Russia for Israel with their eight-year-old son. For nearly a year the Russian authorities held the affidavits sent by their relatives in Israel, which were among the documents they needed to have any chance of a visa. Only after the Novikovs had made at least 10 applications to have the letters handed over to them, and finally approached the International Postal Union and urged them to stop the Russian authorities' flagrant breach of the agreements to which they are party, were the letters released. Since then they have

had to endure continuous harassment, designed to break their spirit; it includes such devices as the refusal of one application because Isabella Novikov did not have a suitable reference from her previous employment (from which she had, of course, been dismissed when the application for a visa was made). What conceivable reason can Russia's apologists give (being unable to give the true reasons that I have mentioned) for refusing to let these people go? (Isabella's parents, incidentally—Salomon Izritsky and Homa Zashinskaya—also wish to emigrate, and they are over 60 years old.) What use are they to a state that they regard as their jailer and desire only to go away from? Can somebody actually say, in the name of humanity or of Karl Marx or of anything or anybody else, why such cruelty should be practised on human beings by a regime which continually boasts of being the truest representative of the brotherhood of man?

More cruel still has been the fate of two men who did not need the ordeal that faces every would-be emigrant from Russia to demonstrate their courage. They are Colonel Lev Ovsishchik and Lieutenant-Colonel Naum Ashlansky, both of whom served in the Red Army for more than 25 years. Their war records were outstanding: Ovsishchik was decorated for bravery 15 times, Ashlansky 13 times. After more than a quarter of a century's military service they were transferred to the reserve, on pension. Then they applied to leave Russia for Israel with their families. They were both immediately deprived of their ranks

and deprived of their pensions—their only means of livelihood. As they put it in a letter: "We were subjected to a moral execution." And Ashlansky adds: "I have been doomed to starvation. Perhaps I should put on my medals and ask for alms." Both Ovsishchik and Ashlansky, incidentally, have been out of active service for years, and thus certainly have no knowledge of secret military matters that could be of use to an enemy. What purpose—other than one of terrorising those who might wish to emulate their example—can be served by this treatment of these brave men? Have they not served their country well enough and long enough to be granted the elementary right to leave it if they wish? What sort of bastard civilization is the one that answers that question in the negative?

But perhaps most cruel of all—if, indeed, there can be gradations in this kind of cruelty—is the case of Valery Panov and his wife Galya. The Panovs are ballet-dancers. Valery, who is 33, is said by those who know about such matters (Clive Barnes, for instance) to be one of the greatest in the world; Galya, who is 10 years younger, had begun to dance leading roles. I say "had", because of what happened when they applied for visas to leave Russia. They were both dismissed from their company (the Leningrad Ballet) and have not been allowed to work since; Valery's dismissal was noted in his employment-booklet as being due to "reduction of personnel"—a phrase which, in the context of the Soviet Union, is a euphemism for "Convent Garden and give as an excuse that the company was over-stuffed." (He was, incidentally, Times Newspapers Ltd, 1972.

ally, one of those jailed at the time of the Nixon visit). Now although Valery is Jewish, Galya is not, and the authorities have brought continuous pressure on her to divorce him and thus be allowed to continue with her career. No doubt the authorities have even more cause to fear a "snowball" effect if a non-Jewish wife were to be allowed to emigrate with her Jewish husband, but the plain fact is that Valery Panov is being murdered as an artist. A baller-dancer, even the greatest, must take part in daily classes if he is to survive professionally; after a very short period of inactivity a dancer's powers and skills fade rapidly, and ultimately cannot be regained. Yet Panov, who is not allowed to work in Russia, is not allowed to leave it and work elsewhere, and the authorities have resorted to tactics vile even by the general standard of their conduct in this programme of persecution; one excuse they gave, for instance, is that Galya's mother had refused to agree to her daughter's departure—though Galya is 23 and obviously does not need such permission.

I ask again: why? Why, in this case, are talented artists forbidden to follow their art in one country, forbidden also to leave a place in which they are not wanted and in which they do not want to be? Is it not truly, in these cases and indeed in all the others, that the wicked and fearful men who rule in Russia believe that if they once allow their subjects to leave freely, they will themselves be trampled into historical oblivion, by the rush?

Times Newspapers Ltd, 1972.

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ku keeps his long earlobes—the sign of the Jewish hunter—neatly over his ears, wears Western sports clothes and rides a Honda motorcycle. “The lion killing is finished now,” Musunku told Jaffe. “It is time for the moran. My children will go to school.”

SOVIET UNION:

The Brain Drain

As a rule, citizens of the Soviet Union do not hold press conferences to vent their grievances against the state. But last week, Veniamin Levich, an electrochemist with an impressive international reputation, did just that.

Along with nine other Jewish intellectuals who want to emigrate to Israel, the 55-year-old Levich had invited a group of Western correspondents to his Moscow apartment. Every time the doorbell rang, the Jews twitched nervously, fearing a raid by Soviet police. Levich, however, was determined to speak out. With reporters perched on stools in his living room, he delivered a blistering attack on Soviet emigration policies. The Kremlin, he declared, was making educated Jews into “a new category of human beings—twentieth-century slaves.”

It was a bitter charge, but Levich and his associates had ample cause. Eighteen months ago, in response to the pressure of world opinion, Russia decided to allow more of its Jews to emigrate to Israel, and this year, some 35,000 Soviet Jews—almost three times the number of last year—are expected to leave. The trouble, from the Soviet point of view, is that a large number of the Jews wanting to leave the country are scientists, engineers and teachers. And so, to plug up the brain drain, Moscow has recently resorted to tough new measures.

Up to now, many of the departing Jews could just barely scrape together the \$480 fee for an exit visa and the additional “spite charge” of \$600 for the privilege of renouncing Soviet citizenship. New regulations have substantially increased these fees by demanding that prospective emigrants also reimburse the state for their education. For an ordinary university graduate, the new exit fee will be \$14,400, and for a person with a candidate's degree (roughly equivalent to a Ph.D.) it will be \$26,400—sums that make emigration nearly impossible unless the money is contributed by relatives or organizations abroad. “Why shouldn't we charge Jews who want to leave?” argues a Foreign Ministry official. “Some educations here are worth as much as 50,000 rubles [\$60,500].”

Soviet authorities are also subjecting educated would-be emigrants to vindictive punishments. They have been ostracized by their countrymen and fired from their jobs. Some have been harassed by the KGB or drafted into the Soviet Army. Levich, who is possibly the most illustrious Soviet scientist to want out, lost his post as head of the Department of Chem-

ical Hydrodynamics at Moscow State University, was given a lesser job and then was demoted from that. His \$1,200-a-month salary has been halved and he has been denied permission to attend international conferences. Soviet authorities also are threatening to draft his son Yevgeny, 28, an eminent astrophysicist, despite the young man's chronic stomach ailments and high blood pressure.

In addition to blocking emigration, these measures apparently are designed to stifle dissent in general. But, so far, they are having the opposite effect. “The louder we shout and the faster we do so,” said Levich, “the better our chances will be. If we don't move fast enough, we could wind up in jail before world opinion can come to the rescue.”

Newsweek, August 28, 1972

From — Russia with love . . .

From a special correspondent

THE LAST view their Moscow friends had of Lev and Lilya was on a balcony at Moscow airport. They waved and blew kisses and Lev shouted in both Russian and English: "Everything is all right: no problems."

Then they turned and handed their passports and precious one-way visas to the young, impassive border patrolman in his tiny box. Bang, bang, he stamped the papers, pulled back an iron railing and they were gone into the stateless void of the airport international departure lounge.

Below, their friends stood aimlessly, the shock of departure showing on their faces. Some, like Lev and Lilya, were Moscow Jews who had been waiting for many months for official approval to emigrate to Israel. Unlike Lev and Lilya, they had not received approval to leave.

Hectic days

The airport scene was traumatic for all of them — the young couple leaving their ancestral home, the several families suffering the pressures that automatically follow the decision to leave the Soviet Union, and those who, so far, opted to take their chances here.

In the hectic last days before his plane took off, Lev admitted his own doubts about giving up his Russian home and Soviet citizenship despite all the pain it had brought him. He expressed doubts about going to the big unknown of Israel.

The self-analysis, expressed to a few Western friends who saw Lev through the period, proving him with tranquillisers to calm his nerves, suggests how difficult it is for many Jews to leave their homes in the Soviet Union. It also offers hints on why a trickle of departees, mostly older people, have tried to return to their homes after a disillusioning encounter with the reality of Israel.

might some time return to the Soviet Union.

"Maybe, I wouldn't feel this way if I knew I could come back, even just for a visit," he said.

In the seven months he waited for his exit visa, Lev became more and more absorbed with Israel. He went regularly to the office of Ovir, the passport agency, and met with other Jews trying to leave their country.

Then his telephone was cut off and, ostracised by former co-workers and gentile friends, Lev started to study Hebrew and turned to Judaism which had not previously been a factor in his life.

"I had crossed the Rubicon," he recalled. "I even became religious, which I had never been."

In August, Lev and Lilya's hopes for leaving plummeted when the Soviet Government, alarmed by the rising tide of educated Jewish emigrants, slapped on a stiff tax in addition to the \$1000 needed to pay for a visa and to renounce citizenship.

Lev had been well paid by Soviet standards but the exit fees alone represented four months salary (\$1220) at the official rate of exchange. Because of his training, he was told he would have to pay an additional \$20,000 to get out.

Years before, Lev and Lilya had decided subtle but systematic discrimination against Jews made it impossible for them to ever feel comfortable in Russia. Now, their calm resignation turned to hatred at the crassness of the Government's action.

Despite his love for Russia, its language and traditions, Lev carried an internal Soviet passport which declared his nationality as "Jewish", not Russian.

Friendship

With foreign pressure mounting against the tax, and with the U.S. election campaign developing, Soviet officials in the fall decided to defuse the issue, at least temporarily, by granting tax-free emigration to a number of educated Jews.

Lev talked about his own mixed feelings. On a final walk in central Moscow near Gorky Street, pointing to an old wooden building typical of many in the city, Lev, who is 35, said:

"I'll miss that ugly thing," he said. "It's beautiful. It's Russia and I am Russian, you know. There is something about Russia that nobody who lives here for any length of time can get out of his system. Mother Russia is a strong, sentimental mother."

Lev admitted the irony of his emotions. He had been waiting since April to leave, had been fired from his job as an electronics specialist, used up his savings and had slowly sold possessions to live through the months while campaigning to leave and helping others to leave. Now he was thinking of how he

Lev and Lilya were among those called to Ovir and told they could leave without paying the tax if they got out in 10 days.

Then he gave a party and the incredible exhilaration of getting the precious passes was replaced by a deep depression. Around him there was more singing and crying, farewell speeches and bear hugs.

In the last few days, with the help of the tranquillisers from Western friends, Lev regained his equilibrium.

"Do you know the words of Lermontov?" he asked. "I love my country but with a strange love. Reason cannot fathom it."

"I'll miss simply the life, even the misery and drabness, a drabness that is made beautiful by friends. Unless you live in Moscow, you don't know what friendship is."

Monday, January 15, 1973

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48

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ILLUSIONS COLLAPSE

On the bitter fate of those who
believed Zionist promises

L.Maslyakov and M.Khienas, staff members,
editorial board, Sovetskaya Litva

The short broad-shouldered young man was nervously handling the ends of his woollen scarf, as he talked quickly and rather incoherently:

"Maybe I've come to the wrong place... I don't know whom to ask. Perhaps you'll give me some advice. The point is that our family is in trouble..."

Zyama Kaplan, fitter of the Vilnius Haberdashery Complex, and his parents received an invitation to go to Israel. Boris, a close relative of his, had written that in the land of their distant ancestors they would be welcomed as the dearest and the most desirable friends. Zyama and his family did not go. Yet their old folks, having taken the bait of Zionist propaganda, went to Israel on April 30, 1972.

"Some time after their departure we received the first letter from our parents. I wept as I read it. You want to know what my father and mother wrote about? About the sufferings which they were subjected to abroad, about the humiliations in the 'promised' land. Then there were some other letters. These were even more desperate, and in them they cursed the day when they left the USSR."

For Kaplan's 58-year-old mother the only means of subsistence in Israel was working 13 hours a day in Boris' small restaurant. And there was no job for the father at all. Boris had promised that immediately after their arrival they would be provided with a comfortable flat. Yet, they had to settle very inconveniently in a third-rate doss-house. Finally, unable to bear the back-breaking labour, Zyama's mother fell ill, and Boris, this close relative, immediately told her to go. Apparently he had used his false promises so as to employ them as cheap labour in his small restaurant. Well, and when the mother fell ill, even though she was a very close relative, she was told to leave.

So now Kaplan's parents complained, in their letters, about the unbearable conditions which the capitalist "paradise" had put them in.

"Could you tell me what I should do?" quietly asked Zyama. "You realize that my mother and father can die..."

Monday, January 15, 1973

- 2 -

4 47

As we listened to Z.Kaplan we recalled the names of other people who had emigrated, just as his parents had, to Israel. Only a few of those who had gone to Israel managed to settle down more or less well, particularly those who are helped by wealthy relatives in Israel, the United States, Britain, Canada, or those who contrived to make a fortune at the expense of others. The majority of emigrants from the Soviet Union, however, proved to have been deceived and are deprived of elementary rights. Among these are the parents of Z.Kaplan. Their troubles are easy to understand. What is most perplexing is that mature adults who, it would seem, had suffered many a trial in their lives, show themselves to be so flippant when the matter concerns the most sacred thing that man possesses -- his Motherland.

Some people that make up their mind to go to Israel for permanent residence seem to regard the matter as nothing more than a visit to a health resort for a while: they seem to think that they can go, have a look around and come back if they do not like it, no more and no less. They even feel hurt when competent organs try to warn them against hasty decisions and suggest that more thought be given to the matter before taking a final decision.

In 1971 Vladimir Gamarnas, a former worker of the "Inkaras" Integrated Plant manufacturing rubber goods in Kaunas, requested permission to leave for Israel. People tried to tell him that he was making a grave error in taking such a step, but his only response to this sound advice was to shout that his rights were being encroached upon. Well, the permission Gamarnas requested was duly granted, but now his wife and other relatives who stayed in Vilnius are getting letters from him. With their permission we are quoting some of them; here are two letters from Israel.

"...My dear wife, in this letter I wish, I feel obliged to speak very seriously with you. You must realise that everything here turned out to be quite different than what I had thought, that we had imagined together with you... It will be bad for you here and you could never get used to it, just as I cannot become used to it. I have made up my mind to go back to our native Vilnius..."

"Greetings, dear Aunt Polina, Arkady, Romik and Rosa. I must speak very seriously to you, my dears. People do many things in life and perform different actions but the Jews who want to go to Israel are simply mad. You cannot imagine the terrible state of affairs here. There is bitter antagonism among people here who regard one another as beasts. Many of them want to go back home, including our friend Y.Schuhman from Vilnius. I am tormented beyond words and I think I'm going mad... Please, my dears, I beg you and I shall be grateful to you the rest of my life... I beg you, Aunt Polina, to speak on my behalf, as a mother would, to have permission granted for restoring my Soviet citizenship and allow me to go back to the Soviet Union. I am departing for Vienna tomorrow."

Monday, January 15, 1973

46

- 3 -

4

And here are excerpts from letters sent from Vienna.

"Dear wife, life does not exist for me... Oh, Lord, how many people Israel has fooled and is yet to fool..."

"Dear Aunt Polina, Arkadi, Rosochka, Romik... It is appalling to hear that Jews are still leaving the Union. One has to be an idiot to change such a country for bourgeois Israel... The people have gone crazy... I appeal to you, Aunt Polina, as I would to my mother: help me come back, do everything possible, I beseech you.

Volodya,"

A tempestuous evolution, isn't it?

A news conference was recently held at Vienna's Concordia press club by a group of Jews who left Israel in the hope of returning to the USSR and are now staying in Maltzhasse Street. There are 92 persons so duped, living here. At the news conference, held, to quote Volksstimme, "in a dramatic, passionfilled atmosphere", these people gave an open battle to out-and-out Zionists. Gamarnas must have got pretty sick and tired of Israeli life for he came up with such exposes that the Zionists attacked him not only figuratively but literally as well. After the news conference, hoods from the Zionist organisations Sohnouth and Herut savagely beat Gamarnas, inflicting several knife-wounds on him.

It is not only V. Gamarnas who, having left the USSR, found himself in a difficult position. Here is another document: an application addressed by former Kaunas resident Khona Padisonas to the President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. In January 1972 he left for Israel, and on July 31 he was already repentant:

"In January 1972 I left the Lithuanian SSR for Israel. I made a fatal mistake, and I cannot forgive myself for this act... I did wrong and was punished severely... If there is the slightest possibility, I earnestly request that concern be shown for my destiny. I earnestly request that my Soviet citizenship be restored, and that I be allowed to return to the Lithuanian SSR."

In Siauliai there lived a physician, Mausha Shterlingas, who was just itching to go to Israel. A plump volume could be made up of the letters and applications he had sent to various departments, demanding that the required documents be finalised as soon as possible. He left. And a month later came his request for permission to return, laying the groundwork for another volume of Shterlingas's applications.

Monday, January 15, 1973

- 4 -

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45

In the past, one of us already happened to write about the misadventures of the former Vilnius courier J. Ruderman in Israel and Vienna. Some 15 years ago, eager for a sweet life, he abandoned his homeland and left for Israel. And for 15 years now he has been flooding the USSR's government bodies with appeals for a permission to come back.

There are hundreds of such letters sounding like a distress signal in the ocean: "Save our souls!", "Help us to return home!". They are addressed to the Soviet Government and to relatives, and even to former next-door neighbours.

When reading such letters telling of belied hopes and shattered illusions, the following question springs to one's mind: who is to blame for the misfortune that has befallen these people? Of course, no one else but themselves. It was of their own free will that they renounced their real Homeland -- the USSR, the country where their fathers and grandfathers were buried, the country which had given them an education, ensured the right to work, to a happy life, the country which to all the world is a living embodiment of the principles of working-class internationalism, a model of the fraternal unity of workers of various nationalities. They have renounced all this, succumbing to cheap promises. These people are now castigating themselves for being gullible. But, when leaving the Soviet Union, they already knew that they were depriving themselves of all the advantages of life under socialism, that they were setting out for the capitalist world, a world of plunderers and exploiters! Indeed, they all knew about that. Some had been urged to make this tragic mistake by a lack of willpower, by passivity ("our acquaintances are leaving, so let us also go..."); others had been misled by Zionist propaganda; still others had been dreaming of a land flowing with milk and honey, they had been seized with ambition and greed. And this was retribution.

We should like to tell all this to Gamarnas, Padisonas, Shterlingas, to all other victims of the Zionist swindle.

And we also told this to Zyama Kaplan who come to the editorial office of our newspaper with his trouble.

(Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya, January 14. In full.)

23

file 201-42

Russia Waiving Exit Tax on Jew

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9 (AP).—Soviet Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin informed Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D., Wash., yesterday that Alexander Malchik will be permitted to join his wife and daughter in the United States without paying an exit tax.

Sen. Jackson said that Mr. Malchik, a Soviet citizen, had been prevented from leaving Russia by imposition of a tax amounting to nearly \$10,000.

Mrs. Malchik, a Russian language specialist at the University of Washington, asked Sen. Jackson for help in a letter from Leningrad last month.

VIENNA

Soviet Jews seek to return

VIENNA, Friday (AAP - Reuter). — Ninety-three Soviet Jews who emigrated to Israel and now wanted to return to the Soviet Union, had cabled a personal appeal to the Soviet Communist Party leader, Mr Brezhnev, members of the group said in Vienna yesterday.

The occupants gave various reasons for deciding to leave Israel, but criticised mostly the economic system and Israeli nationalism.

They said 12 people had already been given permission to return to the Soviet Union and had left Vienna last month, but in the meantime another six had arrived from Israel.

The telegram was sent a week ago on the Soviet Union's 50th anniversary as a Federal State. Mrs Rosalie Ostrovska, from Odessa, read the cable to reporters during an interview in a ramshackle tenement building where the Soviet Jews are living after leaving Israel.

She said the signatories included more than 20 children. Many of the group said they had been waiting for more than a year for permission to return to the Soviet Union.

The telegram congratulated Mr Brezhnev, the Communist Party, the Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet people on the anniversary and hoped the occasion would be used to allow them to return to their homes.

It did not mention the word Jews or Israel, but said the signatories were "citizens who are temporarily in Vienna, were misled by Zionist propaganda, and made a mistake".

It added, "We want our children to be educated in the USSR".

A copy of the cable had been sent to the Soviet Consulate in Vienna, Mrs Ostrovska said, but they had received no reply yet.

"C. Times" 6/1/73.

INWARD CABLEGRAM

SECRET

42

From: WASHINGTON

No.: 05

Received: 24/1/73

ECLIPSE

XXXXXXXXXXXX

SECRET ECLIPSE
23/1408 LT

ADDRESSED CANBERRA 355, REPEATED MOSCOW 05.

*no payup
no sales*

UNITED STATES/USSR. (UNDERLINED)

FOLLOWING FROM MATLOCK (COUNTRY DIRECTOR FOR USSR IN STATE DEPARTMENT) ON 22 JANUARY.

UNITED STATES/USSR TRADE AGREEMENT (UNDERLINED)

2. PUBLICATION BY USSR AUTHORITIES OF THE TEXT OF THE DECREE OF 3 AUGUST, 1972 REQUIRING IMMIGRANTS TO REPAY COSTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION WAS LIKELY TO MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION TO SECURE SENATE APPROVAL OF THE UNITED STATES/USSR TRADE AGREEMENT OF LAST OCTOBER.

MOST MEMBERS OF THE SENATE REMAINED STRONGLY AGAINST APPROVAL OF THE AGREEMENT UNLESS THE USSR FIRST RESCINDED THE DECREE.

(THE DECREE WAS PUBLISHED IN THE BULLETIN OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF 27 DECEMBER, 1972, WHICH REACHED SUBSCRIBERS ON 20 JANUARY.)

3. STATEMENT ON 29 DECEMBER BY USSR DEPUTY MINISTER FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHUMILIN) THAT APPLICATION OF THE DECREE HAD BEEN REVISED TO PERMIT EXEMPTIONS AND AMORTIZATION OF THE AMOUNT OF REPAYMENT ACCORDING TO YEARS OF SERVICE HAD HAD NO EFFECT ON THE ATTITUDE OF SENATORS.

THE ADMINISTRATION, HOWEVER, WAS STILL LOOKING FOR WAYS TO GET AROUND OPPOSITION IN THE SENATE TO APPROVAL OF THE TRADE AGREEMENT.

PURCHASE OF NATURAL GAS FROM THE USSR (UNDERLINED)

4. THE SECRETARY OF STATE, MR ROGERS, HAD ACCEPTED THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF A STATE DEPARTMENT WORKING GROUP THAT IT WOULD BE IN THE POLITICAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES TO PURCHASE NATURAL GAS FROM THE USSR PROVIDED THERE WAS NOT TOO GREAT A DISPARITY IN THE COST AS COMPARED WITH NATURAL GAS OBTAINABLE FROM OTHER SOURCES SUCH AS ALGERIA, NIGERIA AND VENEZUELA.

5. THIS VIEW WAS LIKELY TO BE CONTESTED BY THE PENTAGON WHICH WAS CONCERNED THAT THE UNITED STATES MIGHT BECOME TOO DEPENDENT ON THE USSR FOR SUPPLIES OF NATURAL GAS.

HOWEVER, THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAD A POWERFUL ALLY IN JOHN CONNALLY WHO HAD INTERESTS IN TENNECO AND THE TEXAS EASTERN

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ECLIPSE

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SECRET

41

2.

TRANSMISSION CORPORATION WHICH WERE INTERESTED IN A PROPOSAL TO BRING LIQUEFIED NATURAL GAS FROM MURMANSK TO THE EAST COAST OF THE UNITED STATES.

USSR GRAIN PURCHASES (UNDERLINED)

6. STATE DEPARTMENT EXPECTED THE USSR TO BUY BETWEEN TEN AND SIXTEEN MILLION TONS OF GRAIN ABROAD EACH YEAR FOR THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS IRRESPECTIVE OF USSR HARVESTS.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT CONSIDERED THAT THE USSR LEADERSHIP WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED TO ELIMINATE FOOD SHORTAGES IF ONLY BECAUSE THEY DID NOT WISH TO RISK DISORDERS SIMILAR TO THOSE WHICH HAD BEEN PRECIPITATED IN POLAND IN 1970/71.

7. THE USSR AUTHORITIES HAD ALREADY MADE TENTATIVE APPROACHES TO UNITED STATES FIRMS - WITHOUT SPECIFYING ANY QUANTITIES - ABOUT FURTHER PURCHASES OF GRAIN TO BE DELIVERED BETWEEN 30 JUNE, 1973 AND 1 JULY, 1974.

CFM: 23/1408 355 05 MATLOCK 22 JANUARY USSR 3 AUGUST 1972 27 DECEMBER
1972 20 JANUARY 29 DECEMBER SHUMILIN ROGERS JOHN CONNALLY
TENNECO MURMANSK 1970/71 30 JUNE 1973 1 JULY 1974
ENDS 24/0820AST
SAM

SECRET

ECLIPSE

file 201.4.2
40

field, the Democratic majority leader, called the U.S. aggressive war in Southeast Asia "senseless." Congress, he said, had no choice but to force the United States' immediate and complete withdrawal from the war inasmuch as the Administration had shown itself incapable of achieving peace through negotiation. Being a Democrat, Senator Mansfield is naturally a political opponent of the Republicans. But similar views are aired in the Republican Party itself. Senator Lowell Weicker, a long-standing supporter of Administration policy in Indo-China, has declared his opposition to the obliteration bombing. The Republican Senators adopted a resolution urging the Administration "to end the tragic conflict in Indo-China now through a negotiated settlement."

Congress has a constitutionally-guaranteed possibility to end the war—it

has the right not to pay for it. Several draft laws have been submitted to the present session and a number of resolutions have been adopted. Proposals for immediately cutting off funds for the war in Indo-China and withdrawing all American troops from that region within sixty days have been made by Senator George McGovern (Dem.) and Senator Mark Hatfield (Rep.). Senator Alan Cranston (Dem.) says the resolution depriving the Administration of funds for the aggressive war in Indo-China should be adopted no matter what course the Paris talks take. If they are again broken off, he argues, Congress should not finance new bombings. If they are successful, there will simply be no need for further allocations for that purpose.

And so, the "mood of anxiety," characteristic of Congress for several years, has "now reached the point of revolt,"

to quote the *New York Times*. Will the legislators succeed in this revolt? The paper is sceptical on that score. It does not believe that Congress can end the war through legislation, what with inter-party strife, the President's veto and, more important still, absence of an anti-war majority in Congress.

And so the confrontation between the Administration and Congress continues, as was evidenced again on January 5, when the President met the Congress Democratic and Republican leaders in the White House. Their meeting, according to the *New York Post*, ended thus: "Mr. Nixon has proclaimed more arrogantly than ever before that the executive branch will decide—without advice or consent from Capitol Hill—whether to expand the war once more or to accept peace terms that President Thieu deems unsatisfactory."

Putting the Record Straight

All sorts of fables have latterly been circulated in the West about the regulations applying to people wishing to leave the Soviet Union for permanent residence abroad. The actual state of affairs, *New Times* was told by the competent Soviet authorities, is as follows.

For various reasons, mostly personal, Soviet citizens decide to emigrate—to join relatives, for instance. This is not proscribed by Soviet laws. Restrictions affect only persons who have undergone specific military training or are engaged in occupations of a nature affecting the interests of the state. Similar restrictions are widely enforced the world over and conform to U.N. recommendations.

Citizens, male or female, with a higher education, must on obtaining an exit visa partly or fully reimburse the state for the outlays it has made for their higher education and training as skilled specialists.

Soviet citizens receive higher education free of charge. Moreover, students

are given scholarships. And so the reimbursement regulation is only logical and is dictated by the concern of the socialist state for the interests of its people.

Repayment of expenditures on education is made according to a graduated scale, taking the individual factors and specific circumstances into consideration. For instance, citizens leaving the Soviet Union to take up permanent residence in socialist countries are not required to pay anything. This is explained by the nature of relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which are governed by appropriate agreements.

Men who have reached the age of 60, women of 55 and over, and persons of first and second degrees of disability are totally exempted from reimbursing the above-mentioned expenses.

Strict account is also taken of the length of a person's service. Those who have worked 25 years and more (women—20 years) pay only 25 per cent of the sum expended on their

education; men with 15 years and women with 12 years of work behind them pay 50 per cent, and men with eight and women with six years of work pay 75 per cent.

People who have studied in higher educational establishments or taken postgraduate courses and worked at the same time reimburse the state for half the expenses, while those who have taken correspondence courses pay only a quarter.

Some people leave the Soviet Union after marrying foreign nationals. In such cases, our laws provide for substantial reductions in the sum to be repaid.

According to the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Interior, only about 10 per cent of the people emigrating from the Soviet Union reimburse the expenses for their higher education. The rest either have no higher education or have been exempted from payment on account of old age, health, etc.

The regulations governing emigration of Soviet citizens are equally binding on all, irrespective of nationality and ethnic origin.

V. KATIN



EMBASSY OF AUSTRALIA

CONFIDENTIAL

39

IN REPLY QUOTE:

221/9/8

4th January, 1973.

Memo No. 41



The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA.

USSR : JEWISH EMIGRATION
(Your file 60/2/5/7)

Please refer to our memorandum No. 3166 and Moscow's telegram No. 889 (to you), respectively, of 4 and 23 December, 1972, about reports that the USSR authorities had revised or were likely to revise the regulations governing emigration from the USSR.

.... 2. We now enclose, for your information, a report from the "Washington Post" of 30 December, 1972, about an interview concerning the USSR's emigration regulations which was recently granted to the USSR newsagency "Novosti" by one of the USSR's Deputy Ministers of Internal Affairs (B.T. Shumilin). Also attached is a report of the interview which was circulated by the USSR Embassy to foreign diplomatic missions in Washington.

*Not helpful
we have this
already*

3. On 4 January we discussed Shumilin's remarks with Mr Paul Cook (Head, Office of USSR Domestic Affairs, Bureau of Intelligence and Research - INR - State Department). Cook said that the interview had apparently been arranged in response to a request initially lodged by the UPI correspondent in Moscow. Evidently, the USSR authorities had decided that something should be said about the emigration regulations but that it would be best to speak through "Novosti" rather than directly to western correspondents. The interview had apparently taken place on 22 December, although the text of Shumilin's remarks was not made available to western correspondents until 29 December.

4. Cook said that Shumilin's comments implied that the emigration regulations had been revised in response to the criticism of them expressed in the United States and other Western countries. This was evident, for instance in Shumilin's assertions that men who had reached 60 years of age, women who had reached 55, and invalids were fully exempt from the requirement to repay the cost of their higher education. Moreover, it was evident from the

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*W. P. ...
W. G. ...*

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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38

interview that the revised regulations gave effect to the principle of amortisation so that men who had been employed for 25, 19, or 8 years and women who had worked for 20, 12, or 6 years were required to repay only 25, 50, or 75 per cent of the costs of their tertiary education. The introduction of this principle had been foreshadowed in remarks made to State Department officials in October, 1972, by members of the USSR Embassy in Washington (paragraph 6 of our telegram No. 5424 of 26 October refers).

5. Cook said that there had so far been no further evidence to indicate that the "close relative" principle had been introduced into the new regulations as a device for restricting Jewish emigration (our memorandum No. 3166/72 and Moscow's telegram No. 889/72 refer).

6. Cook added that in all about thirty-one thousand Jews had been permitted to leave the USSR during 1972. Of these about 2,500 had left during December, 1972.

7. Cook gave us the attached commentary prepared by INR on the interview given by Shumilin.


8. Copies of this memorandum, with attachments, have been sent to London, Moscow, Tel Aviv, and the Australian Mission to the United Nations, New York.

(David Sadleir)
Counsellor

The Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW.

Memo No. 5

Copy for information


(David Sadleir)
Counsellor

CONFIDENTIAL

"WASHINGTON POST"

"NEW YORK TIMES"

PRESS CLIPPING

DATED : 30 December, 1972.

Soviet Official Discloses Education Tax Exemptions

By Barbara Bright

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Soviet Union's deputy minister of the interior, B. T. Shumilin, this week made public for the first time exemptions and differentiations on application of the controversial education exit taxes imposed since mid-August on emigrating Soviet citizens.

The tax law, complete details of which have never been published, has in practice primarily affected Soviet Jews seeking to emigrate to Israel. The law stimulated a worldwide protest accompanied by charges that the tax discriminates against Soviet Jews.

In an interview with a correspondent of Novosti, the Soviet news agency, Shumilin said that men of 60 and above, women of 55 and above, and invalids are exempt from the education tax.

A graduated scale of tax refunds is applied to emigration applicants based on how long they have worked, Shumilin said. Men who have worked for 25, 15 and 8 years, and women who have worked for 20, 12 and 6 years "are freed from refunding the cost (of their education) by respectively 75, 50 and 25 per cent," Shumilin explained.

Shumilin defended the edu-

cation tax from what he called "bourgeois propaganda" by saying that "95.5 per cent of people of Jewish nationality who applied to go to Israel" in 1972 were granted permission to leave. Restrictions applied to persons eligible for military training, or those whose work is connected with the defense of state security, he said, conform with United Nations recommendations on human rights.

In fact, he added, "more and more often citizens of Jewish nationality who applied for permission to leave for Israel and got it, refuse to use it." During 1972, he claimed, more than 2,000 persons did not use their exit visas.

Although Shumilin said the education tax, in practice, affected only some 10 per cent of the Soviet citizens who emigrate, he reiterated the "logic of life" which would require that education expenses be refunded to the government.

"The Soviet Union does not intend to act as philanthropist" for persons educated at the expense of the Soviet Union who then leave the country, he said.

The only previous mention of the education tax had been

an acknowledgement of the new law's existence in a Soviet weekly on foreign affairs. A definite rate schedule for the fees has still not been made public. Fee charges have ranged from \$5,000 to \$25,000 depending on the prospective emigrant's educational level, according to Soviet sources.

After the strong outcry against the tax, including attempts in the U.S. Congress to link it to the developments in Soviet-American trade, Soviet authorities in late October lifted the exit tax on 175 Jewish families. They were permitted to leave the country without refunding the cost of their education.

In London, meanwhile, Amnesty International cited information from the Chronicle of Current Events, the underground journal of the Russian civil rights movement, as proof that the Soviet Union has launched a major crackdown on dissidents. The latest issue of the Chronicle, covering a three-month period to Oct. 15, gives detailed accounts of widespread arrests, political trials, dissidents confined to mental hospitals, and searches and interrogations.



EMBASSY OF AUSTRALIA

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CONFIDENTIAL

IN REPLY QUOTE: 221/9/8

Memorandum No. 76/73

9th January, 1973

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA



USSR: Treatment of Jews
(Your file 69/2/5/7)

*for once we
were first!*

Please refer to memorandum No. 1155 (to you) of 27 December, 1972, from the Australian Embassy in Moscow which reported the United States Embassy in Moscow as having gained the impression that official harassment of the Jewish community in the USSR had increased.

-
2. We now enclose an article from the "New York Times" of 28 December, which elaborates the same point.
 3. Copies of this memorandum with attachment have been sent to Moscow and Tel Aviv.

(David Sadleir)
Counsellor

The Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW

Memorandum No. 10/73

For your information.

David Sadleir
(David Sadleir)
Counsellor

*Mr Papp
Mr Gacs*

CONFIDENTIAL

Seven Soviet Jewish Activists Say Harassment Has Increased

NEW YORK TIMES

By HEDRICK SMITH

Special to The New York Times

28/12/72

MOSCOW, Dec. 27—Seven Jewish activists in Moscow charged today that Soviet authorities had stepped up harassment of Jewish activists at a time when Western public opinion was diverted by the Christmas holidays.

Despite what is expected to be a record level of Jewish emigration, perhaps reaching 30,000 people this year, the activists asserted at an unauthorized news conference that the situation had become much tighter in recent weeks, especially for visa applicants with higher education.

They dismissed the wave of exemptions from the heavy education tax in late October as a temporary "pre-election present to President Nixon."

Among the new "repressions" listed by the seven were the arrests of 63 Jewish activists from Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkov, Riga and Novosibirsk during the week before Christmas. They said that these had included 11 Moscow women who were awakened in their apartments Dec. 20 by a knock at the door at 5:30 A.M. and, in some cases were not given enough time to get fully dressed.

Fifty-two other persons were arrested Dec. 18 and given 15-day prison sentences on charges of disturbing public order or resisting orders of policemen when they attempted to deliver a petition to offices of the Supreme Soviet, or Parliament, asking for amnesty for Jews in jail. Relatives have been unable to find out precisely where they are being held, Jewish spokesmen said.

The group of spokesmen, who met with correspondents at a private apartment near downtown Moscow, listed additional pressures against other individuals as well.

Prof. Aleksandr Lerner, a well-known specialist in cybernetics, said that on Dec. 21 two militia officers had given him an official written warning that he would be tried for parasitism, or lack of a job, unless he found work within

Continued on Page 11, Column 1

Soviet Harassment Increased at Christmastime, 7 Jewish Activists Charge

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6
two weeks.

Mr. Lerner, dismissed from his position as head of a scientific institute in December, 1971, after applying to emigrate, has worked for 40 years and becomes eligible for a state pension next September at the age of 60. There have been previous threats about trying him for parasitism but none so serious, he said.

Jewish sources said that Valery Panov, the 34-year-old dancer dismissed last spring by Leningrad's Kirov Ballet Company after having asked permission to emigrate to Israel, was summoned by the secret police two or three days ago and warned that he would be prosecuted for anti-Soviet agitation—punishable by up to seven years in prison—if he continued to meet with foreign correspondents and give information to telephone callers from abroad.

The warning to Mr. Panov came soon after he had talked with a correspondent of The New York Times about his situation.

Letter to Waldheim

Mr. Panov was said to have been shown the original copies of several letters concerning his case, including one addressed to Secretary General Waldheim of the United Nations appealing for intervention on the ground that his rights were being violated.

Kirill Henkine, a 57-year-old translator who once lived in France and was granted an exit visa Nov. 20 only to have it withdrawn Dec. 2 before he had had time to leave, said he faced eviction from his apartment, which he had formally given up effective Jan. 1 as part of his final preparations to emigrate.

"I have no work," he told reporters. "I have no place to live. I have sold all my winter clothes because I was going to live in a hot climate."

Despite repeated inquiries, he said, he had not been given any reason for withdrawal of his exit visa, even after he had purchased his airplane tickets to Vienna, the normal stopover point on the way to Israel.

Subsequently, Mr. Henkine has refused to accept the return of his Soviet passport, which he was required to surrender to obtain the visa, on the ground that such a reversal can only be made by the Supreme Soviet. Without a Soviet domestic passport, he risks arrest and imprisonment for up to one year.

Removed From Trains

In other instances, Jewish spokesmen said, Jews were prevented from coming to Moscow from Leningrad, Riga and other cities during the current celebrations of the nation's 50th anniversary and some were physically removed from trains unless they could prove they were on official assignments.

Jewish sources compared these measures and the preventive arrests of other activists to measures taken just before President Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union last May, when several Jews had threatened to stage a public protest.

In yet other areas, such as the autonomous region of Dagestan, on the Caspian Sea, Jewish sources said authorities were intercepting letters sent from people in Israel inviting Soviet Jews to emigrate. Such an invitation is a prerequisite for an exit visa.

In general, the seven activists charged that Soviet authorities were behaving arbitrarily, and two of them appealed for publication of a Soviet emigration law and establishment of regular emi-

<p>gration procedures.</p> <p>Vladimir Slepak, a veteran in the emigration movement, asserted that Soviet authorities were "making this new escalation of repression now because it coincides with Christmas, and who cares now?"</p>	<p>posing a trade agreement and favorable tariff status for Moscow unless the emigration tax is lifted.</p>	<p>are created for a number of those wishing to emigrate, which attract the attention of world public opinion and thereby distract that attention from the resolution of the main problem — that of free exit for everyone.</p>	<p>taneously: on the one hand to scare other Jews from the struggle for emigration, and on the other hand to restrain as much as possible the people known abroad until the moment when the authorities need to obtain something from a reluctant West or to calm down gullible Western trading partners.</p>
<p>Almost No Tax Exceptions</p> <p>He and others said that in recent weeks almost no exceptions had been granted from the taxes for repayment of higher education imposed last August, although there had been a wave of exceptions granted just before the November elections in the United States and after the signing of the Soviet-American trade agreement.</p>	<p>Jewish spokesmen said today that as long as Soviet leaders were uncertain whether Congress would approve such a resolution, they would be inclined to take measures periodically to ease restrictions on emigration for educated Jews. But if it became clear that the measure was certain either to pass or fail, Jewish sources said, it would cease to have influence on the Kremlin.</p>	<p>"Then, at the necessary moment, someone is given permission to leave and the whole world breathes a sigh of relief, supposing that 'a thaw' has set in. The generosity of the authorities, which shows itself for a brief period after months of cruelty, is taken in the West as a victory for progressive forces and, obviously, bring dividends to the Soviet Union."</p>	<p>Signers of the statement, in addition to Professor Lerner, Mr. Slepak and Mr. Khenkin, were Boris Orlov, 42, a historian; Viktor Brilovsky, 34, a physicist; Mrs. Yelena Polsky, 40, a radio engineer whose husband was recently jailed for 15 days, and Aleksandr V. Voronel, 41, a physicist.</p>
<p>More than 70 Senators have co-sponsored a resolution op-</p>	<p>In a prepared statement, the activists said in part: "Jews have become pawns in the political game which the U.S.S.R. authorities are playing. The principle of the game is perfectly simple: Great difficulties</p>	<p>The statement said that "the authorities are striving to achieve two objectives simul-</p>	<p>DON'T FORGET THE NEEDIEST!</p>

"Observer" 14/1/73.

201-42 31

Moscow Jews doubt latest concessions

by LAJOS LEDERER

CHANGES in Soviet regulations governing the emigration of Russian Jews, reported in THE OBSERVER last week, have been welcomed by most Jewish communities abroad and in Israel itself.

But a group of Moscow Jews remains sceptical, believing that the new regulations will not turn out to be as lenient as they are claimed to be. Last week the group sent the following letter to THE OBSERVER:—

Dear Sir,—We have read with painful surprise in THE OBSERVER of 7 January, Lajos Lederer's article, 'Russia to Let Most Jews Go.' We cannot agree with Mr Lederer's statement that 'far-reaching concessions are made on the procedures for Jewish emigration.'

It is wishful thinking to say that 'it is no longer illegal to seek permission to emigrate.' This will end threats and harassment against those who apply for exit visas. They will no longer face immediate dismissal from jobs and possible arrest. Jews who apply for exit visas are dismissed as they used to be, those who are out of jobs stay out. Only a week ago more than 50 Jews (among those who applied for visas) were released from jail after two weeks' imprisonment on perfectly illegal charges or no charges at all.

The eventual and slight modification of the education tax on emigrants can hardly be considered as a 'dramatic change in policy.' The situation is not improved basically, even if there is total exemption for invalids and people of pensionable age (who, by the way, were and are deprived of their pensions when they leave).

The average age of those wishing to leave is 27 to 30, and the vast majority cannot afford to pay even a part of the fantastic tax. A young specialist with a diploma who had a salary of 120 or 140 roubles (until dismissed after applying for a visa) and has to pay, in any case, 900 roubles for each member of his family, does not profit from the new regulations. Paying, in addition, 15,000 roubles (old tax) for himself and his wife or 12,500 (new tax) is equally beyond his ability.

And finally, as long as 'those who... by the nature of their work, are connected with jobs affecting State interests, will not be allowed to leave,' the authorities can keep as long as they wish those whom they do not feel like letting out. The concept of State interests is an extremely broad one, and there are no definite regulations concerning security clearance and the like.

Summing up, we insist that there is no reason to claim that 'the Jewish community in Moscow is reported to be greatly encouraged by the new regulations.' We are a part of this community, and our impression is that Mr Lederer's article does not contribute to the information of your readers, but rather serves 'Moscow's desire to help its image in the Western world.'

The undersigned Moscow Jews who, for a long time already, are waiting in vain for an exit visa to Israel, hope that this letter will be published in THE OBSERVER. Sincerely yours: Boris Aibinder, David Azbel, Victor Polsky, Vladimir Slepak, Veniamin Levich, Evgueni Levich, Alexander Lerner, Boris Orlov, Kirill Khenkin, Victor Mandelzweig, Lev Libov, Victor Feermak, Atahn Faingold, Yuli

Kasherovski, Ilya Kornfeld, Mikhail Babel, Vladimir Prestin, Vladimir Rogunski, Iosif Belgun, Yuri Wasserman, Valeri Krijak, Tamara Galperina, Leonid Kochevoi, Irina Kanevskaia, Mark Lvovski, Grigori Teitelbaum, Vladimir Mash, Ida Nudel, Mark Novikov, Anatoli Novikov, Mark Nashpitz, Jacob Pisarevski, Moissei Belfor, Evsei Ratner, Vitali Raveski, Yuri Sayassov, Grigori Svetchinski, Grigori Tokor and others.

The new Soviet posture on Jewish emigration was outlined officially for the first time on 29 December by Boris Shumilin, the Soviet Deputy Minister of the Interior. He said: 'The fact that individual citizens, for a variety of motives, but mainly for personal reasons, wished to live permanently in another country does not conflict with Soviet legislation.'

There has not yet been time to evaluate this policy in practice. Because Shumilin's announcement was not published inside the Soviet Union, it is unlikely that large numbers of Russian Jews are yet aware of it.

The scepticism expressed in the letter no doubt reflects the past experience of the signatories, but it would seem pointless—and in the long run self-defeating—for the Russians, who allowed 32,000 Jews to leave the country last year, to announce relaxations that they have no intention of putting into practice.

That there has not been liberalization, but that problems will continue.

This really nullifies Lederer's line of speculation in 7/1 article. (Did some Russian bend his ear?) Second last para is in doubt tone — but in admitting it Lederer does not admit its implication — that Soviet Jews are not meant to be aware of 'liberalization' & that Shumilin's whole 'intention' is designed for Western ears. Last para is obvious but pointless. Jan point is to not

Moscow: Most Jews can go

by LAJOS LEDERER

AFTER YEARS of hesitation the Kremlin rulers appear to have decided to allow most Soviet Jews to emigrate if they want to.

This dramatic change in policy is linked with Moscow's desire to help its image in the Western world and improve the atmosphere for Mr. Brezhnev's visit to the United States in April.

The policy has been quietly put into effect by a series of new emigration regulations issued last week without publicity by the Ministry of the Interior in Moscow. Far-reaching concessions are made on the procedures for Jewish emigration.

There are estimated to be three million Jews in the Soviet Union and, according to the Israeli authorities, 100,000 are waiting for permission to leave for Israel. Emigration reached 32,000 last year and, under the new regulations, is expected to double this year.

The principal new Soviet concessions are:

1. It is no longer illegal to seek permission to emigrate. This will end threats and harassment against those who apply for exit visas. They will no longer face immediate dismissal from jobs and possible arrest.

2. The education tax imposed on Soviet Jews last August is to be eased. There is to be full exemption for invalids and people of pensionable age (60 for men, 55 for women) and for some others who cannot afford to pay.

Men with higher education who have worked for 25 years and women who have worked for 20 years are now liable to pay only 25 per cent of the tax, which ranges from £500 to over £10,000. Similar reductions are provided for others on a sliding scale, depending on how long they have worked.

However, a spokesman for the Ministry said: 'Those who have particular military training or, by nature of their work, are connected with jobs affecting State interests, will not be allowed to leave.'

The new regulations came into effect on 1 January and it remains to be seen how they work out. The Jewish community in Moscow is, however, reported to be greatly encouraged by them.

not exactly,
have a liberalisation
of existing laws.

Observer
1/1/73

?

?

perhaps

NOT
NEW,
not
entirely?

yes,
apparently

interesting

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procedure for departure of soviet citizens for domicile abroad
facts 1 (one) three takes

Emigration 18

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moscow january 11 tass the weekly +new times+ reemphasized
that +the procedure for departure from the ussr for domicile
abroad is absolutely identical for all citizens, irrespective of
nationality and ethnical affiliation+. in connection with all
kind of concoctions concerning the procedure for departure,
spread of late in the west, the weekly remarks that the decision
of individual soviet citizens to depart for
domicile in other countries
+does not rpt not run counter to soviet legislation+.
+restrictions concern persons who underwent a certain military

training or by nature of their activity are connected with
work affecting state interests. such steps are widely taken in
international practice in conformity with uno recommendations.+
/ more /

= 11/1 tass 6-21 =
facts 2 (two)

citizens of the ussr with a higher education, who received permission for their departure, partly or fully refund state expenditures on their higher education and also other scientific degrees. higher education in the ussr is free and students, in addition, receive stipends.

28

however, the weekly points out, differentiations are made in the compensation for expenditure on education, taking into account factors of individual nature and specific circumstances. compensation is not rpt not paid if citizens depart for domicile in socialist countries. this benefit is explained by the nature of relations between the ussr and socialist countries which, on a reciprocal basis, are regulated by appropriate agreements.

men who reached the age of 60 and women of 55, and also disabled of the first or second group are fully freed from reimbursement for expenditures on education.
/more/

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facts 3 (three)

length of service is also strictly considered. those who have worked not rpt not less than 25 years (women: 20) are freed from reimbursement of 75 per cent of the expenditures: those who have a length of service of not rpt not less than 15 years (women: 12) refund half the state expenditures, citizens with a length of service of not rpt not less than eight years (women: 6) are freed from 25 per cent of the compensation.

persons who studied at higher educational establishments, or did post-graduate research (including at military colleges), without discontinuing work, refund the state half of the expenditures for education, and those who were external students pay only a quarter of the expenditures.

soviet legislation largely frees from reimbursement for expenditures on education persons who married citizens of other countries. +new times+ reports that expenditures on education are refunded by about ten per cent of all the persons departing for permanent domicile abroad, since a substantial proportion of those who depart have no rpt no higher education and many of those who have such an education are freed from compensation because of age, state of health and other reasons.

item ends ++++++

File 201.4-2

14
CONFIDENTIAL

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File No: 201.4.2

Memo No: 31

8 January 1973

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA.

USSR: JEWISH EMIGRATION.

(YOUR FILE 69/2/5/7)

Please refer to our memorandum 1155 of
27 December 1972.

2. The New Year has come and gone, and there has still been no confirmation of new Soviet emigration regulations on a "close relative only", or any other basis.

3. On 26 December, however, an Assistant Soviet Minister of the Interior, B.T. Shumilin, gave an "interview" on emigration (embargoed until 29 December) to a Novosti press agency correspondent, which has subsequently, we believe, been published by the New York Times. The interview has not so far been published in the USSR, but proof copies have filtered back to Moscow from the West.

4. Shumilin's remarks seem mainly directed at foreign criticism of Soviet emigration policy. He points out that "this legislation" (otherwise described as "regulations existing in the USSR for the departure of citizens abroad for permanent residence") applies to "all (Soviet) citizens, irrespective of their nationality." He says that applications for emigration for "personal motives" do "not contradict Soviet legislation" and "are as a rule granted". The rules covering the refunding of higher education expenses are again justified as "logical" and in the general interest of all Soviet citizens. The West is said to have "distorted ... this legitimate measure, which is a purely internal affair for the Soviet Union."

"Sliding" Education Tax

5. Shumilin reveals for the first time the alleged existence of a "sliding scale" of education tax, based on type of education, age, sex and, principally, length of work. Men over 60 and women over 55, plus "invalids" are

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said to be fully exempt from the tax. Men who have worked for 25, 15 and 8 years, and women who have worked for 20, 12 and 6 years are said to be required to pay only 25%, 50% and 75% of the tax respectively. Graduates of "higher educational establishments", post-graduate courses and military post-graduate courses supposedly repay 50% of their education costs, and those who studied externally repay only 25%. Further, Shumilin says that some people, "in view of their financial status" may be freed from repaying education expenses. "In the recent period, for example, 530 people ... have been freed from refunding their costs of education." In practice, says Shumilin, "refundng effects only about 10%" of emigrants. We would still consider this a fairly high percentage, in view of all the above.

Destination of Emigrants

6. Shumilin confirms the alleged Soviet policy that reimbursement of state education expenses is not applicable to Soviet citizens emigrating to socialist countries (because of "appropriate agreements" with the USSR) - or, apparently, "countries that have taken the road of independent development". The USSR is also said to take a "humane approach" towards the education tax of Soviet citizens who marry people of other nationalities, "liberating them" from the obligation "to a considerable extent," and fully in the case of those who marry nationals of socialist countries.

Jewish Emigration

7. Shumilin claims that 95.5% of those people of Jewish nationality who applied to emigrate to Israel in 1972 were allowed to go; "the other applications are being considered". Some people are asked to remain for military or state security reasons, "in accordance with international practice". Shumilin also alleges that in 1972, more than 2000 Jews permitted to emigrate to Israel "did not use" their export visas. Reference too, is again made to "disillusioned Zionists" who return to the USSR from Israel.

Comment

8. Shumilin's remarks seem to reflect continuing Soviet sensitivity over the emigration question, and the Jewish question in particular. The USSR seems anxious to counter western criticism of Soviet policies on the one hand, while on the other hand keeping as quiet as possible about any liberalization of regulations within the USSR, possibly fearing that pressures for emigration could build up to unmanageable proportions. It is doubtful whether the "tax" has ever been, or will ever be, applied along lines as consistent as those described; from what the Netherlands Embassy has told us it seems this aspect of the regulations is applied rather haphazardly and opportunistically (see our memo 1155/72, paragraph 6). Shumilin has, with typical Soviet unhelpfulness, given us no really useful figures, and we would be inclined to question the implication of his statement that almost all

CONFIDENTIAL 25

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Jewish emigrant applicants are (eventually?) allowed to go. Of course, no-one really knows, but the point is that "permitting" emigration is one thing; facilitating it is something else; maybe the 2,000 Jews who Shumilin alleges chose, after all, not to go largely comprise families who at some stage gave up the protracted struggle with bureaucracy. It would, however, be easier to imagine a higher percentage of Jewish emigrant applicants being allowed to leave than other groups. The USSR has good reasons for letting out Jews (see our memorandum 1155/72 paragraph 13). But what would be interesting, and what we are not told, is how many non-Jews apply to emigrate, and how many of these are allowed to do so.

9. None of the western Moscow embassies, including the Netherlands Embassy, has yet heard of specific instances of the alleged "sliding education tax" being applied. It is thought that this presumed liberalisation, although presented as an old policy, is in fact a new one. Time will possibly tell. For the moment it seems as if Jewish emigration will be allowed to continue at a high rate during 1973.

10. Copies of this memorandum are being sent to Washington and Tel Aviv.

(J.G. Powys)
Second Secretary

Memo No: 06

Australian Embassy,
WASHINGTON.

For your information.

(J.G. Powys)
Second Secretary

Memo No: OP 06

Australian Embassy,
TEL AVIV.

For your information.

(J.G. Powys)
Second Secretary

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File 201.4 24

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Assistant

An interview given by Minister (sic) of the Interior of the USSR B. T. Shumilin to a Novosti Press Agency correspondent on the regulations covering departure of Soviet citizens for permanent residence abroad.

3. Of late bourgeois propaganda hostile to the Soviet Union, especially Zionist propaganda, has chosen as its target the regulations existing in the USSR for the departure of citizens abroad for permanent residence. First of all, I would like to point out that this legislation applies to all citizens, irrespective of their nationality. Now to the substance

of the matter.

4. The fact that individual citizens, by reason of various circumstances, principally for personal motives, wish to live permanently in another country does not contradict ~~the~~ Soviet legislation. Requests for leaving are considered by competent bodies in accordance with the procedure laid down by law and are as a rule granted. However, the Soviet Union does not intend to act as philanthropist in relation to persons on whose education the state has spent considerable sums and in relation to those capitalist states where these persons are ~~leaving~~ going. These people can quit the Soviet Union after refunding in part or in full the cost of their higher education obtained at the expense of the state, and also the costs of higher degrees of training of highly qualified specialists and scientists.

5. As is known, higher education in the USSR is free; besides, the student is provided with a scholarship. Therefore the refunding of the expenses for education is prompted by the logic of life, by the concern of the socialist state for the interests of the entire people.

6. In the West, attempts are being made to distort the nature of this legitimate measure which is a purely internal affair for the Soviet Union. Speculation is spread that the compensation for education is taken without due regard for age, condition of health, length of working record and other individual factors. That is not so!

"Sliding scale"

7. According to the regulations existing now in the USSR, men who have reached 60 and women who have reached 55 and also invalids are fully exempt from repaying the state its expenditure. In repaying the costs for education strict account is taken of one's length of work. Men with a working record of no less than 25, 15 and eight years and women with a record of no less than 20, 12 and six years are freed from refunding the cost by respectively 75, 50 and 25 percent. Persons who studied at higher educational establishments, post-graduate courses and military post-graduate courses repay the state 50 percent of the education costs, while those who were external students pay back only 25 percent. Besides, in view of their financial status some people may be freed from repaying the expenses. In the recent period, for example, 530 people out of those who applied for permission to leave have been freed from refunding their costs of education.

8. I would like to emphasize once again the fact that the regulations for leaving for abroad are absolutely the same and binding on all citizens, whatever their nationality. No account is also taken of the country of destination, with the exception of socialist countries and countries that have taken to the road of independent development. Reimbursement of state expenses for education is not applicable to Soviet citizens leaving for residence in socialist countries. This privilege is explained by the nature of relations between the USSR and the socialist

countries which are regulated by appropriate agreements.

9. People leave the Soviet Union for a variety of reasons, for instance, because of marrying citizens of other countries. The Soviet legislation makes a humane approach to such people, liberating them from reimbursing the education costs to a considerable extent. We make a special approach to solving the question of costs repayment in the case of persons who marry citizens from the developing countries who as a rule are fully freed from making monetary compensation.

10. Thus, the costs incurred in education one are repayed in a differentiated way, with due account taken of a whole complex of factors and circumstances.

11. Evidently of interest is this example characterizing the contingent of people leaving the USSR for permanent residence in other countries: in practice the refusing affects only some 10 percent of them. Consequently, the bulk of the leavers do not have either higher or more advanced degrees of education.

12. Bourgeois propaganda is making noises that citizens of the Jewish nationality willing to go to Israel are allegedly not let out of the Soviet Union. I can say that in 1972 permission to go was given to 95.5 percent of people of Jewish nationality who applied to go to Israel; the other applications are being considered. Restrictions apply to those who have a certain military training or by nature of their work are connected with jobs affecting state interests. Such measures are widely used

in international practice and conform with the UN recommendations. In particular, the international pacts on human rights (Part 3, article 12) directly provide for restrictions necessary for the defence of state security.

13. Also noteworthy are these facts -- more and more often citizens of Jewish nationality, who applied for permission to leave for Israel and got it, refuse to use it. Thus, during 1972 more than 2,000 people (having no higher education incidentally) did not use the permissions granted them to leave the Soviet Union. Hundreds of former Soviet citizens, who left for Israel in different times and who came across the true Zionist "paradise" there, sent in applications for permission to return to the Soviet Union. For example, Y. Gait, I. Goldblat, I. Fleisher and others recently returned to our country.

14. Such is the actual state of affairs on the departure of citizens from the USSR for permanent residence abroad.

CONFIDENTIAL ¹²

19

File No. 201. 4. 2

Memo No. 1155

27 December 1972

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA

USSR: JEWISH EMIGRATION

(YOUR FILE 69/2/5/7)

Please refer to your memorandum 565 of 12 December (received 22 December) and to our cable 889 of 22 December.

2. Further to our cable 889, you may also be interested to know that the U.S. Embassy here seems to have the impression that "harassment" of Soviet Jews has recently been increasing. Martin Wenick, U.S. Second Secretary, to whom we spoke on 22 December, had little definite information on this point but said that what they had heard tended to confirm western press reports (e.g. Newsweek 30 October) that Soviet Jews were finding it harder to find employment and that general public sympathy for them in the USSR was diminishing. We would judge this to be largely a result of increasing Soviet sensitivity over the Jewish problem following the rising rate of Jewish emigration in 1972.

3. Wenick further said that the Americans were watching the Jewish situation closely and were thinking of protesting strongly to Soviet authorities if new regulations unduly delayed exit visa applications of Soviet Jews applying to emigrate to U.S.A. At present, most of these already had close relatives in the U.S.A. so might not be greatly effected by new regulations along rumoured lines.

4. On 27 December we discussed the present situation with Hans Heinemann, Second Secretary at the Netherlands Embassy, which represents Israeli interests in the USSR and has been heavily involved with administrative and some political aspects of the Jewish emigration question since 1970.

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5. Heinemann said the 1972 Jewish emigration figure was now expected to top 31,000, compared with 1,000 in 1970 and 15,000 in 1971. He said that there had been a steady flow during the year of Jewish emigrants from the Baltic republics, the Ukraine, Georgia, Moldavia, Central Asia and, to a lesser extent, Tajikistan. Emigration from the Moscow, Leningrad and Minsk regions seemed to be far more difficult, probably because local authorities were tougher and the Soviet authorities in general were more concerned about emigration, particularly of prominent Jews, from more politically sensitive areas. There had, however, been two recent "waves" of emigrants from the RSFSR, one in early November and one at the present time, comprising relatively large proportions of highly-educated people, academics and writers, including some very prominent people such as a well-known conductor and the former editor of Literaturnaya Gazeta. Heinemann thought the main explanation for this was the Soviets' desire to get rid of unwanted "trouble makers".

6. The "education tax" apparently introduced in August 1972 had not, Heinemann thought, significantly effected the emigration rate, since the Soviets' main concern here seemed to be to extort what extra money they could before letting people go, and those people who simply could not afford the tax were not pressed. There seemed to be no set rate for tax, and Soviet authorities had occasionally demanded, and got, extortionate sums. One middle-aged couple with a twenty-five year old son, all of whom had professional qualifications, had had to pay 63,000 roubles to leave the country; this amount had been met (secretly) by the Israeli government, who often assisted discreetly in cases of this kind, partly because of Israel's need for qualified people and partly for humanitarian reasons. The reason more was not done in this respect was firstly the Netherlands Embassy's inability to continually handle huge sums of money, and secondly of course the fear that if the Soviet authorities heard what was going on they would very likely raise their exit "fees" to impossible levels.

7. The Soviet bureaucracy seemed to place as many obstacles as possible in the path of prospective Jewish emigrants. Exit visas were granted in erratic patterns, and frequently for only very short periods. The backlog of exit visa applicants was continually building up because the Israeli authorities issued more "invitations" than the Soviet authorities issued exit visas. Prospective emigrants had to pay 500 roubles for exit documents, and 400 roubles to renounce their Soviet citizenship, and the cost of this had to be met from liquid assets since all fixed assets, including even war bonds, were frozen and later confiscated by the Soviet authorities. Heinemann said that the Netherlands Embassy spent up to 300,000 roubles per month on "extended" loans to emigrants who found themselves in financial difficulties; these loans were virtually

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regarded as gifts. Emigrants were allowed to take only 100 roubles each out of the USSR, but many were very rich, and there had been torrid scenes at airports when people who had tried to smuggle out gold, silver, jewellery and icons were caught by Soviet customs authorities. (We ourselves have seen emotional airport scenes where elderly Jewish women emigrants, highly distraught, and surrounded by tearful relatives, have had every single item in their baggage minutely examined, and frequently damaged, by Soviet customs men. Despite their propensity to bureaucratic officiousness, we cannot imagine the customs officials enjoy this type of exercise.)

8. Another problem which frequently occurred was that, after granting exit visas to a large family, the Soviet authorities would suddenly, for no good reason, cancel the visa of one, usually younger, member of the family, as if to emphasise the Soviets' ultimate control of the situation. When this happened, however, the family had no choice of whether to stay or leave; they were simply told to get out, and the unhappy family member would remain behind, usually in the care of relatives or friends whom the Netherlands Embassy helped to locate.

9. We asked Heinemann exactly what a Soviet Jewish citizen had to do to leave the USSR. He said they firstly had to obtain an "invitation" from the Israeli government, either on a relative or "state" sponsored basis; this invitation was transmitted through the Netherlands Embassy, or else would probably not reach its destination. Applicants then had to obtain character references from their employers and certificates of no criminal record from their trade unions. After renouncing their citizenship, they then applied to an OVIR office for an exit permit, and travel document which could take up to a year to obtain. The Netherlands Embassy then issued an Israeli visa and helped arrange transit visas to other countries e.g. Austria and Romania. There were frequent administrative hitches on the Soviet side, and many stalemated applications had necessitated Dutch intervention with the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

10. Heinemann said that it was only because of the pressure of international public opinion that the Soviets allowed many Jews to leave the country at all. He thought Soviet authorities were particularly sensitive about public opinion in countries with whom the Soviets supposed they had fairly good relations, eg. Sweden and Canada, and would probably also react strongly to protests from France on the Jewish question, which oddly had not been forthcoming, but might be in the future if Israeli influence could successfully be brought to bear in Paris.

11. On the possibility of new Soviet emigration regulations in January 1973, Heinemann could only confirm

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what we had heard from the Americans (see our cable 889), that there were strong rumours, and some slight evidence, to suggest that new regulations would soon be enforced, and probably on a first or second degree relative basis. Heinemann thought this would probably have the effect of lessening the rate of Jewish emigration in 1973, though it was always difficult to predict what would happen.

12. On the morning we called on Heinemann, there were about fifty prospective Jewish emigrants crowding the consular office and waiting in small and large groups on the street outside. The consular staff said it was like this every day, but perhaps worse at present because of end-of-year holidays. Heinemann said he had spent Christmas Day issuing visas to about 40 emigrants whose exit visas expired on 29 December. Another 30-40, whose exit visas expired later, he had had to turn away and ask to come back later. The people we saw looked prosperous and well-dressed, largely young to middle aged men with a sprinkling of little old ladies. They all seemed to already have exit and travel documents; some looked relieved to be at the end of a long bureaucratic trail, most looked anxious and harried, as if they expected things could still go wrong. There seemed to be considerable concern to have documents finalised quickly; no doubt caused partly by rumours of impending changes in regulations. Two Russian administrative staff in the consular office were stamping visas on never-ending piles of travel documents and kept assuring the stream of enquirers that everything would be all right.

13. It seems to us that the Jewish question is one of the most sensitive in the Soviet Union today. The Soviet authorities seem unsure how to handle the situation and their bureaucratic inconsistencies seem to reflect a basic indecisiveness. By allowing more Jews to emigrate in 1971-72, the Soviet authorities probably hoped to defuse the Jewish problem to some extent. They do not seem to have been successful in doing so. There are now more Jewish emigrant applicants than ever before, and the rate of applications is steadily increasing. Reluctant as they may be to do anything for the Jews, the Soviet authorities, having opened loopholes for Jews to emigrate, will possibly be unable to close them completely. We expect that substantial Jewish emigration will possibly continue over the next few years, although perhaps at a lesser rate than in 1972. While this safety valve continues to exist, we do not expect that domestic harassment of Jews would increase, as some fear, to the proportions of physical violence, nor that new moves will be made to resettle Jews in the "Jewish autonomous region" of Birobidjan in Eastern Siberia. The Soviets are obviously sensitive to international public and press opinion over the Jewish question, as is shown by their heavy-handed rebuttals of "Zionist propaganda" about mistreatment of Soviet Jews. At a period when the USSR is trying to cope with persistent nationalities problems and to present a picture of

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CONFIDENTIAL 15

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happily-assimilated nationalities in the Soviet Union, the last thing the Soviets want is extensive international publicity about the Jewish question, one of the sorriest blots on the Soviet record. In the present situation of apparent Soviet indecision over the problem, the USSR would, we imagine, be particularly susceptible to adverse foreign press stories and pro-Jewish lobbying by prominent groups of westerners. This is particularly the case with the USA, with whom the Soviet Union was trying to develop close economic, commercial and scientific ties. For these reasons, Soviet authorities will probably have to continue to try to solve the Jewish problem by the best means they can; at present this seems to be to allow the emigration to continue.

14. You will appreciate that in his discussion with us, Heinemann was speaking, as usual, very frankly. He commented that his Embassy was in a highly sensitive position; they did not want to destroy their credit with the USSR by embarrassing Soviet authorities, nor to embarrass Israeli authorities by publicising their efforts to get Soviet Jews out of the USSR. Heinemann was particularly anxious that what he told us should not reach the press. We would therefore be grateful if you could ensure that Heinemann is fully protected.

15. Copies of this memorandum have been sent to Tel Aviv and Washington.

(J.G. Powys)
Second Secretary

Memo No: 31

Australian Embassy,
WASHINGTON.

Memo No: OP 218

Australian Embassy,
TEL AVIV.

For your information.

(J.G. Powys)
Second Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

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Moscow Jews held

^{26/12}
MOSCOW, Tuesday.— Soviet police had detained more than 50 Jewish petitioners and activists yesterday before the opening of the Supreme Soviet, the nation's legislative assembly, Jewish sources said.

Most had been arrested in a reception room of the Supreme Soviet and taken away in a police bus, the sources said.

It was not known where they were taken.

The sources said the Jews had been seeking an official answer to a petition signed by about 200 Jews earlier this year calling for an amnesty for imprisoned Jews.

Earlier police had detained six Jewish activists at their homes in an apparent attempt to prevent unwelcome incidents during the Supreme Soviet session, the sources said.

(AAP)

File 201-4-2

10
AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

OUTWARDS TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL

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201.4.2.

To: CANBERRA

REPEATED TEL AVIV

WASHINGTON

889

0P244

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Sent: 22.12.72

CONFIDENTIAL

USSR: JEWISH EMIGRATION

Your memo 565.

We had heard rumours during November that new emigration regulations on "close relative" basis were to be introduced on 1 December. No definite confirmation, however, is yet available.

2. Wenick, U.S. Second Secretary, told us 22 December that from Americans' latest information it seemed new regulations were to be introduced from 1 January. Soviet Jewish visa applicants had reported seeing notices in OVIR offices in Moscow and Leningrad that new emigration regulations would take effect from 1 January. That these regulations would be on "close relative" basis seemed to be suggested by several recent instances of Jewish exit visa applications being returned to applicants by Soviet authorities with instructions to nominate specific close relative living abroad. Previously applicants for emigration to Israel could just write "relative" without specifying a name.

3. Wenick thought new measures, if introduced, would be particularly aimed at cutting down Jewish emigration rate, which was now of great concern to authorities. 15,000 former Soviet citizens had emigrated to Israel in 1971 and over 30,000 in 1972. "Education tax" had originally been introduced in August 1972 to help stem the tide, but legal loopholes plus international protest had largely negated the effect of this. Emigration to Israel was the one feasible way for any Soviet citizen without relatives abroad to get out of

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL 12

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the USSR. Many did not stay in Israel, but moved further on. There was widespread evidence of non-Jews emigrating after marrying Jews. The Soviet authorities had apparently hoped, by generally granting more Jewish exit visas in 1972, to lessen the backlog of applications. Instead, the backlog had built up.

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50 Moscow Jews Reportedly Held Without Charges

MOSCOW, Dec. 20 (AP).—More than 50 Moscow Jews have been rounded up by Soviet police and are being held without charges in disregard of "existing laws," an open letter complained tonight.

In addition, the letter said, an undetermined number of Jewish activists were being held in other Soviet cities.

"The only fault committed by these people is that they want to be repatriated to Israel," the statement, signed by 31 Moscow Jews, declared.

The signatories, including several prominent scientists, said they did not know what the authorities intend for those arrested, but "it is obvious that on the birthday of Stalin and the solemn celebration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the U.S.S.R. they will be in jail."

The Soviet leadership set the date of the celebrations for tomorrow, although the anniversary itself is Dec. 30. The day selected for the ceremonies is also Stalin's 90th birthday.

In the past, the Russians have arrested Jewish activists and dissidents on the eve of major celebrations to "assure calm."

file 201.4.2

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201-4-12

Russia Arrests 57 Jews in Raids as Soviet Convenes

MOSCOW, Dec. 18 (UPI).—Soviet police arrested 57 Jews in morning raids on homes and at parliamentary headquarters today, only hours before the opening of the Supreme Soviet, Jewish sources said.

In a related development, Soviet authorities granted exit visas to five Jews, including activist journalist Viktor Perelman, exempting them from paying the tax for would-be emigrants with higher education, the sources added.

They said plainclothes and uniformed police arrested eight Jews at home this morning in what was an apparent attempt to insure an incident-free opening of the Supreme Soviet this evening.

The remainder—including at least 21 Moscow Jews, 11 from Leningrad, two from Kharkov, two from Kiev, and one from Frunze—were picked up when they went to the Supreme Soviet building to present an appeal on behalf of Jewish detainees. Soviet officials herded them into a bus and drove off.



CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

69/2/5/7

Memo No: 565

12 December 1972



Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW.

U.S.S.R. : JEWISH EMIGRATION

You will have received a copy of Washington's memo No 3166 to us of 4 December 1972 reporting that new regulations appear to have been promulgated regarding emigration from the U.S.S.R.

2. We should appreciate any further information which you yourself may be able to obtain on this matter. As you will appreciate, it is the subject of regular letters to the Minister as well as questions in the Parliament. We need therefore as detailed and as up-to-date information as possible. We would also be grateful for your own assessment of any new developments.

P. F. Peters
(P. F. Peters)
East Europe Section

*Ambarador
to P. Peters*

CONFIDENTIAL

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'Times' 11/12/72

World socialism to fight for Russian Jews' emigration

By a Staff Reporter

The Socialist International yesterday ended its bureau meeting in London under Dr Bruno Pitterman, its chairman, with a gratified calculation about a rising tide in the fortunes of socialism. After recent socialist election victories 200 million people in all parts of the world are living under Social Democratic rule.

Nineteen member parties participate in government, either as sole ruling parties or as partners in a coalition. There are 12 socialist prime ministers in countries from Australia and New Zealand to Finland, Mauritius and the Federal German Republic.

The meeting decided to reactivate its study group on Soviet Jewry and the emigration tax imposed on Jews wishing to

leave the Soviet Union. Mr Abba Eban, Foreign Minister of Israel, said after the meeting that the Socialist International had a long and effective record of interest and action in mobilizing world opinion on this matter.

"It has contributed to bringing about a change so that instead of a zero exit, tens of thousands of Jews have been able to leave.

The bureau decided to set up a working party, under the chairmanship of Mr Alex Kitson of the British Labour Party, to study the question of international terrorism and hijacking.

The meeting postponed a discussion of European integration and security until the next meeting of socialist party leaders in Paris in January.

file 201.4.2

Jews fear banishment to Soviet wasteland

From a Moscow correspondent

IN THE rumor-ridden, nervous Jewish community of Moscow, an old nightmare has been revived.

Perhaps — just perhaps — the Government will resettle recalcitrant Jews in the official Jewish homeland in the Soviet Union.

That homeland exists, like a bad Jewish joke and reminder of a failed policy 40 years old, half a continent away from Moscow in Eastern Siberia along the Amur River which separates the Soviet Union from China.

Created under Stalin as one of many efforts to solve the "Jewish question" which has plagued Russia through most of its history, the Jewish autonomous region, better known by the name of its biggest city, Birobidjan, is a remote, quiet area of light manufacturing and farming that is rarely visited by foreigners.

Only 15,000 Jews live there out of a total population of 173,000. Still, the Soviet Government points to the area as an example of the kind of life Jews can live in the Soviet Union in spite of the charges of "Zionist propaganda."

A new study

The new concern about Birobidjan was stirred when Moscow Jews learned that the prestigious Academy of Sciences had been ordered to prepare a new study of the Jewish problem.

"We understand they are going to build 10,000 new apartments in Birobidjan in addition to housing that is empty there now. What else would they use it for?" a well-informed Jewish leader said.

How do Moscow Jews feel about the Siberian region as a homeland? "They hate it," he answered. "It is certainly no homeland for them."

Soviet Jews now divide into three groups — those who are leaving for Israel, those who have been refused permission to leave for Israel, and the overwhelming majority who want to live in peace as Soviet citizens.

It is the Jews who are not allowed to go to Israel and those who have spoken up in defence of the right of their friends and relatives to leave, who most fear the possibility they will be ordered to move to the "Soviet Israel" on the banks of the Amur.

Larger than Belgium, the Birobidjan area was first set aside as a region for the resettlement of European Jews in 1928. Its official status as the Jewish autonomous region was declared in 1934 and a small station town on the Trans-Siberian railroad where the Bira and Bidjan rivers join was made its capital.

Jewish and non-Jewish settlers from Russia and the Ukrainewere urged to move to the area during the 1930s at the same time as other Siberian areas were being developed by brave settlers and exiled political prisoners.

In Birobidjan, Jews were expected to become the majority nationality so that it could be granted autonomy within the Russian Republic, which includes all of Siberia.

After reaching a peak of about 30,000 in population, before World War II, the Jewish community began to dwindle. The population of the entire region grew only by 10,000 persons between 1958 and 1970; or by 6 per cent while the nearest big city, Khabovsk, rose by nearly 20 per cent.

Many other Siberian frontier towns have barely managed to hold their population as the early enthusiasm for building a new community fades and the hardships of the Far East mount.

The Jewish population of Birobidjan has remained below 10 per cent for the past decade. Still, when the regime wants to produce Jews to refute charges of discrimination, it often calls on representatives from the region.

"The working people of our region are angered by the slander and inventions of Zionists about the allegedly rightless position of Jews in the Soviet Union," Lev Shapiro, First Secretary of the Birobidjan Communist Party Committee, said in Moscow a year ago.

"The example of the Jewish autonomous region may be taken to illustrate the vast changes that have taken place during the years of Soviet government in the development of culture, education, medical services, and in raising welfare of the people."

Old memory

"There is no such thing as suppression of the Jewish people which Zionist propagandists like to speak about," Mr L. Sluch, a member of the only Temple Board in Birobidjan, said at another government Press conference.

While the Moscow fears of a new Jewish resettlement to the east may be exaggerated, such movements of ethnic groups are a distinct memory in the Soviet Union.

Stalin transported millions of minority citizens — Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Tartars, Germans, and many others — from their traditional homelands to strange new homes in remote areas of the far north, far east, and Central Asia.

Most of the transportees were accused of being disloyal to the Russian motherland.

12—THE AUSTRALIAN Thursday December 7 1977

BUSIN

New \$4

FINANCIAL EDITOR BRYAN FRITH COMM

Japanese keen two-way traffic

THERE HAS been little response on the surface to the former government's recent gesture in lifting the long-standing restrictions on Australian portfolio investment overseas.

A gesture because the concession was virtually nullified by completely unrealistic limits on the amounts that could be invested abroad in any one year.

For an individual the limit is \$10,000 and for an institution \$1 million. For the institutions in particular it would hardly be worth the bother in their super-liquid state to place such small amounts overseas.

Despite this there is already considerable behind-the-scenes activity to woo the dollars of Australian institutions into overseas markets.

The Japanese have been making the pace and several missions from leading Japanese security houses have visited Australia recently.

Most of the top Japanese houses now have representatives stationed in Australia. In fact, there is probably more Japanese presence now than there was for UK broking firms during the mining boom.

JOIN QUEUE

Nomura, Nikko Securities, Okasan and Yamachi all have representatives in Australia. Daiwa Securities will join the queue early next year.

Some of the Japanese houses have established close connections with leading Australian sharebroking firms.

Local brokers are no doubt hoping for each way brokerage from these alliances, both through Japanese investment in Australia and vice versa.

A few months ago the leading Japanese security houses were given permission to invest in Australian stocks, but to date the amount which has arrived has been disappointing.

A flock of Australian broking firms has visited Japan in recent months seeking to establish rapport there and

to attract investment funds from Australia.

The relatively slow response of the Japanese is attributed to two major factors: the poor rate of the Australian economy over the past 12 months or so and the fact that Japan and the distinct possibility that Japan may soon revalue the yen.

The Japanese elections are expected this weekend. There is a lot of opinion, both locally and in Japan, that once they are over Japan's value — probably before the yen goes out.

HIGH POWERED

Once this question is resolved, brokers hope that the flow of funds into Australian stock markets will pick up considerably.

Until the change in this traffic was necessary. The Japanese were quick to take the chance of a two-way market.

Some of the recent Japanese high powered missions have been high powered principals from the houses, and portfolio investment research experts.

Apart from receiving visits, Australian institutions have been circling some of the Japanese houses.

They have been offered services about Japan, but security publications, about the Japanese economy, suggestions on possible situations.

The institutions have given advice on how they are doing in Japan at the moment. Foreign investment in Japan brought in during October are apparently means of passing or living within the country.

The latest trend is surprising. Given the strong trading relationship between the two countries in recent years, it is surprising that, without government intervention, there should be interest in other's stockmarket.

Allied Minerals I

U.S. partner

THE MAJOR overseas company referred to in the annual report of Allied Minerals as a big ilmenite consumer was the U.S. giant E I Du Pont de Nemours and Co.

Allied Minerals' chairman, Mr. R. I. Ainsley, said in Perth yesterday that Du Pont would provide up to \$2.2 million to set up plant for the treatment of Allied's heavy mineral sands deposits.

It would also offer technical help and would become a big customer for ilmenite.

Mr. Ainsley told the annual general meeting that Allied's agreement with Du Pont had been approved by the Federal Government's committee on foreign takeovers on Tuesday.

Under the agreement a joint company known as Allied Eneabba was to be formed to develop the areas held by Allied Minerals at Eneabba.

Du Pont would pay \$1,750,000 for a 25 per cent interest in Allied

Eneabba and funds would be used for the erection of a plant designed to process 7000 tons of zirconium and 1000 tons of ilmenite.

If the plant is built, it would produce large-scale production of heavy mineral sands before the end of the year to be capable of producing 50,000 tons of zirconium and 100,000 tons of ilmenite.

Monazite, a rare earth mineral, is produced. If this is

LAVERTON NICKEL NO LIABILITY



RESTRICTED

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

69/2/5/7

5 December 1972

Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW

Australian Embassy,
TEL AVIV

Memo No: 572

Memo No:

Australian Embassy,
WASHINGTON

Memo No:



EXIT TAXES ON SOVIET JEWS

..... Further to our cable (788 Moscow; 505 Tel Aviv; 5029 Washington) of 27 November 1972, we enclose a copy of the advertisement, sponsored by the NSW Campaign for the Rescue of Soviet Jewry which appeared in the Sydney Morning Herald.

R.A. Newton

(R.A. Newton)
East Europe Section

① Ambassador
② Mr. [unclear]

File 201.4.7
224-7
RESTRICTED

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compatible with the rights of intellectuals in all countries and with the ideals and principles of the Soviet Government in the field of education.

In the interests of all concerned including your own and all other intellectuals and in the interests of continued intellectual and scientific co-operation between the Soviet Union and other countries we urge immediate repeal of these repugnant measures on yourself and the Soviet Government.

Have honour to despatch by express airmail a list of names and particulars of the 276 intellectuals joining in this appeal.

JULIUS STONE,
Challis Professor of International Law and Jurisprudence, University of Sydney.

NOEL S. HUSH,
Professor of Theoretical Chemistry, University of Sydney.

AUTHORISED BY:
NSW Jewish Board of Deputies NSW Campaign
for the Rescue of Soviet Jewry, 146 Darlinghurst Rd, Darlinghurst

Challis Professor of International Law and Jurisprudence, University of Sydney.
NOELS HUSH,
Professor of Theoretical Chemistry, University of Sydney.

[illegible]

AUTHORISED BY:
NSW Jewish Board of Deputies NSW Campaign
for the Rescue of Soviet Jewry, 146 Darlinghurst Rd., Darlinghurst

S M H 27/11/72

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4 December, 1972.

Foreign Affairs Office,
LONDON.

Memorandum No 254/72

→ Australian Embassy,
MOSCOW.

Memorandum No 255/72


Australian Embassy,
TEL AVIV.

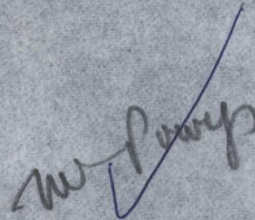
Memorandum No 42/72

Australian Mission to
the United Nations,
NEW YORK.

Memorandum No 304/72

Forwarded for your information.


(David Sadleir)
Counsellor



CONFIDENTIAL



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EMBASSY OF AUSTRALIA

IN REPLY QUOTE: 221/9/8

Memorandum No 3166/72

4 December, 1972.

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA.

USSR : Jewish Emigration

(Your file 69/1/3/7)

Please refer to our telegram No 5424 of 26 October, 1972, and previous correspondence about the regulations governing emigration from the USSR.

2. On 1 December, Mr Paul Cook (Head of the Office of USSR Domestic Affairs in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research) told us that the United States Embassy in Moscow had reported that the USSR authorities had apparently introduced new emigration regulations. The Embassy had been told by a member of the USSR's Jewish community that he had seen the new regulations posted in the Moscow headquarters of the office of Visas and Registrations (OVIR) of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Russian Jew said that he could not recall all the details of the new regulations, but added that in substance they restricted the right to apply for exit visas to those who already had close relatives living abroad. The new regulations apparently defined "close relatives" as fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, sons, or daughters.

3. Cook said that the State Department was inclined to believe the report. The Department had been expecting the USSR authorities to modify the regulations. In addition, for some weeks rumours had been circulating in the Jewish community in Moscow that new emigration regulations would be promulgated on 1 December.

4. Cook said that hitherto Jews had been allowed to lodge applications for exit visas if they had any relatives living abroad or if they had received an "official invitation" from the Government of Israel.

5. Copies of this memorandum have been sent to London, Moscow, Tel Aviv, the Australian Mission to the United Nations, New York, and the JIB.

(David Sadleir)
Counsellor

CONFIDENTIAL

Kosygin Turns Down Appeal on Emigration Tax

by Humphrey Group in Moscow

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Dec. 1 — A three-man Congressional delegation headed by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey was rebuffed here by Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin yesterday when the visitors raised the issue of the Soviet emigration tax in the context of Soviet-American trade.

"This is an internal matter," the Soviet Premier was quoted by Senator Humphrey as having told the group in a three-hour meeting in the Kremlin.

Mr. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, reported on this and other sessions with Soviet officials at a news conference in the United States Embassy.

The congressional group, which also includes Senator Henry L. Bellmon, Republican of Oklahoma, and Representative Henry S. Reuss, a Wisconsin Democrat, has spent this week here in an effort to sound out the Russians on prospects of Soviet-American trade, particularly in farm products.

Exit Tax Resumed

Coincidentally, it was disclosed that the Soviet authorities, since the Presidential election in the United States, had resumed virtually general application of the education tax that emigrants must pay to compensate the state for their free higher educations. The tax has affected mainly Jews, who are

the most highly educated community in the Soviet Union and constitute the bulk of the present limited emigration.

The latest report appeared to confirm speculation that some exemptions had been made in October in an effort to promote President Nixon's re-election. A Soviet police official was then quoted as having said that the exemptions had been a gesture toward the United States.

Senator Humphrey said at today's news conference that he had sought to convey to Soviet officials, including Premier Kosygin, the seriousness with which members of Congress viewed the present Soviet curbs on emigration, which happen to affect mainly the departure of Jews to Israel.

75 Threaten Trade Pact

Seventy-five Senators have joined in a resolution, sponsored by Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, that they will block the Soviet-United States trade agreement signed in October unless the Soviet Union rescinds the exit duty. The agreement includes tariff concessions to the Russians, requiring Congressional approval.

Senator Humphrey said that he and his colleagues had informed Soviet officials, "without rancor and without being abrasive, just laying it on the table in a respectful approach, that the so-called Jackson

amendment is not a political ploy for the 1972 election."

"Those elections are over," the Senator added. "The results are in. And 75 United States Senators have joined in that proposal out of conviction and out of a sense of historical ideals."

Senator Bellmon, who, with Senator Humphrey, is a member of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, said the group had sounded out the Russians in connection with a new agricultural act that is coming up in the new session of Congress.

Referring to the large grain purchases made by the Russians in the United States this year because of a poor crop at home, Mr. Bellmon said: "We need to know what the demand will be in future years because we must match the level of production which we recommend to our farmers with the demand for farm commodities."

The Oklahoman said that his group had been told that the Russians were unlikely to rely on major purchases of wheat over the long run but would most probably seek feed grains and soybeans to upgrade their livestock industry.

U.S. Legislators Press Kosygin on Jewish Emigration

By Robert G. Kaiser

Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW Dec. 1 —Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) and two congressional colleagues here for talks on trade and agriculture told Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin that concern in the U.S. Congress about Soviet Jews was "not a political ploy."

Humphrey, Sen. Henry Bellmon (R-Okla.) and Rep. Henry Reuss (D-Wis.) spent two and a half hours with Kosygin yesterday, their most important meeting in a busy week of contacts with Soviet officials.

At a press conference today, Humphrey said the question of Soviet Jews—particularly the new fees charged to Jewish emigrants to Israel—was raised at every meeting the

three congressmen had here this week. He added, however, that it was mentioned and quickly dropped, and that most of their talks concerned trade and agriculture.

In these conversations, the congressmen reported, they were told to expect future Soviet purchases of American grain, but not on the scale of this year's giant purchases. In general, Humphrey said, the talks here convinced him that there are "possibilities for a better day" in Soviet-American relations, "But it's going to take a great deal of work."

The question of the emigration fees was raised in the context of talks on most-favored-nation status for the Soviet Union, Humphrey said. The Nixon administration has

proposed granting most-favored-nation status, but Congress must approve it. Seventy-five senators joined Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash. in saying they will sponsor an amendment to the legislation granting most-favored-nation status which would make its extension to the Soviet Union conditional on Soviet retraction of the new exit fees.

Soviet authorities began telling prospective Jewish emigrants in August that they would have to pay special fees up to about \$37,000 before leaving for Israel. The fees applied to anyone with a higher education, and were meant to repay the state for that education, the authorities said.

Since then the tax has been applied erratically. Just before

the U.S. elections it was waived for several hundred educated Jews, although technically it still remains in force.

Humphrey said the three congressmen tried to tell Soviet officials they met that concern over this matter in Congress was strong and serious, and should not be dismissed as an election-year tactic. In response, Humphrey said, the three were told "generally that it was an internal matter."

"I would consider that a negative answer," he added, but he said none of the U.S. legislators had expected a public retraction of Soviet policy because of their comments. Merely raising the issue was helpful, Humphrey maintained.

The former vice president described the unexpectedly long session with Kosygin as "the most productive, the most constructive, the most friendly" of his five-day visit here. It covered many topics, and "we came away encouraged," Humphrey said.

The congressmen also met with the Soviet ministers of foreign trade and agriculture, and with officials from the State Bank for Foreign Trade, the Supreme Soviet, two academic institutes and the Maritime Ministry.

Humphrey said the group tried to explain to all these officials that Congress would play an important role next year in the evolution of Soviet-American relations. Soviet officials don't always understand Congress's importance, Humphrey observed. This was his fourth trip to the Soviet Union.